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NOTES ON THE PHONOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF TSWANA VOWELS¹

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Sotho group of Bantu languages, which includes Tswana, has for long been considered as possessing an unusual feature in its "nine vowel system" of vowel sounds. From a study of the existing literature on this subject, one gains the impression that there has been some feeling of uncertainty and uneasiness about the nature of the mid-vowels in particular, and their phonological relationship to one another. This impression is strengthened when one notes the numerous inconsistencies in their representation in the current orthographies, especially those of Northern Sotho and Tswana, where diacritics are fairly regularly used to indicate certain values of the mid-vowels.

§ 2. In this essay it is proposed to make a brief study of the phonetic values of the vowels of Tswana, and to set out fully the rules for their phonological relationship to one another, where such relationships exist, and as far as it has been possible to determine these rules. It will be noted that for the mid-vowels, these rules are very complex. It is probably this complexity of relationships which has been responsible for the lack of clarity up to the present, and which has resulted in the shelving of a proper investigation into this matter for many years past.

§ 3. Although the classification set out here is based entirely on investigations and researches into Tswana, occasional brief references will be made to both Northern and Southern Sotho. The opportunity for detailed investigation of vowel phonology in either of these two languages has not yet presented itself. Nevertheless, I feel confident that the same phonological classification of vowels will be found to apply *in principle* to each of these languages, although *in detail*, the actual rules governing the inter-relationship of the mid-vowels may be found to vary to some extent as between one language and another.

Even within the Tswana field itself, there exist a number of dialects, and some variants have been noted between these. In the main, however, the vowels of Tswana are very constant, and consonantal phonemes show much greater variety from one dialect to another.

§ 4. In conclusion, the deficiencies of the existing Tswana orthography will be discussed in the light of the findings set out here, and suggestions will be made for revision in the representation of vowels in the practical orthography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

§ 5. The following is a brief list of the chief works on Tswana grammar and phonetics which

¹This article was received for publication in April 1948, but owing to difficulties in procuring some of the necessary type, a long delay in publication has resulted. [Ed.]

have been consulted in making this study, and to which reference will be made herein :

- W. CRISP : *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar*, (3rd edition, 1900).
- A. J. WOKEY : *Secwana Grammar*, (2nd edition, no date, revised etc., by J. Tom Brown).
- J. TOM BROWN : *Secwana Dictionary*, (1943 reprint).
- D. JONES and S. T. PLAATJE : *A Sechuana Reader in International Phonetic Orthography*, (1916).
- A. N. TUCKER : *The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group of Bantu Languages*, (1929).
- G. P. LESTRADE : "A Practical Orthography for Tswana", (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1937).

In addition to these, numerous other books and pamphlets on the grammar, phonetics and orthographies of Tswana, as well as both Northern and Southern Sotho, have been consulted, and reference has been made to most of the published Tswana literature. The hypothetical Ur-Bantu¹ roots quoted herein have been drawn from :

- C. MEINHOF and N. J. VAN WARMELO : *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages* (1932).
- W. BOURQUIN : *Neue Ur-Bantu-Wortstämme*, (1923).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

§ 6. I am indebted to Prof. C. M. Doke and to Prof. P. de V. Pienaar, of the University of the Witwatersrand, for their ready assistance, encouragement and training in the field of Bantu linguistics, phonetics and phonology, during the last two years, and for thus providing many clues to the classification set out in this essay. I have benefited very greatly also from discussions with Mr. E. O. Westphal, former lecturer in Bantu languages, and Mr. S. M. Mofokeng, Sotho

¹ As far as possible, the orthography used by Meinhof has been retained here.

Language Assistant, at the Witwatersrand University. Tswana-speaking informants who have assisted me in my recent investigations, include : Mr. L. C. Moumakwa, of Mafeking (Hurutshe);² Mr. S. W. Peme, of Kimberley (Tlhware); Mr. J. L. Moncho, of Kanye, B. P. (Rolong); Mr. K. E. K. Baruti, of Kanye (Ngwato); Mr. M. M. Sekgoma, of Serowe, B. P. (Ngwato). Dozens of other informants, with whom an occasional word has been checked here and there are too numerous to acknowledge individually. My own pronunciation of Tswana has been used as a basis from which to work in these investigations. Needless to say, hundreds of Tswana speakers, especially of the Rolong and Ngwato tribes, have contributed to my gradual acquisition, since childhood, of the spoken language. Most of the examples quoted herein have been checked with all of the informants named above. Some, however, have been checked with only one or two of them.

ORTHOGRAPHY EMPLOYED

§ 7. The phonetic symbols employed in this essay are in the main those of the International Phonetic Association, but some modifications have been made for typographical and other reasons. A chart of Tswana vowels is given below, as also a comparative table of vowel symbols, relating those used here as far as possible to those used by other investigators.

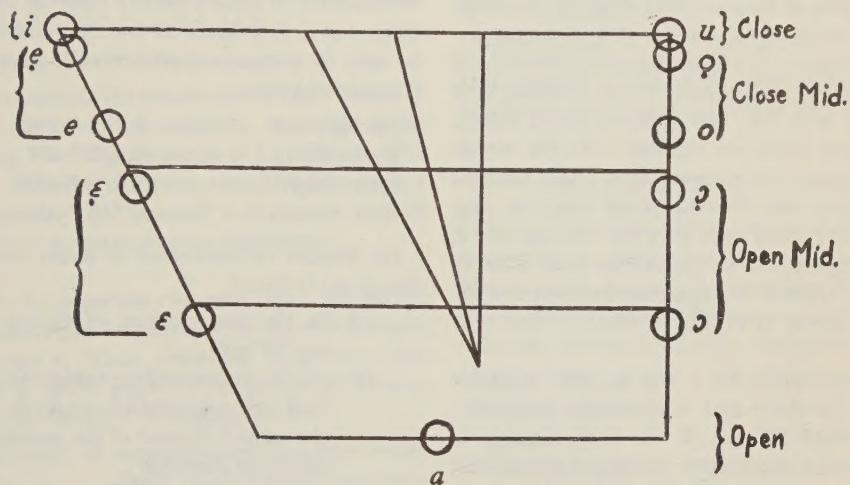
§ 8. The representation of the consonants has presented some problems, as the phonetic values of these show a considerable amount of variety from dialect to dialect. A type of standard has therefore been used here, taking cognisance of the suggestions made in Lestrade : "A Practical Orthography for Tswana". It should be noted that the slight ejection, usually accompanying un-aspirated explosives and affricates, is not marked, nor is normal penultimate length. The digraph *tl* represents the laterally released, ejected alveolar explosive. The symbol *d* is used instead of

² The Tswana tribes to which the informants belong are indicated in parentheses.

the I.P.A. symbol, to represent the voiced flapped lateral. Similarly *f* is used to represent the pho-

neme whose chief member is a voiceless bilabial fricative.

CHART OF THE PRINCIPAL TSWANA VOWELS



§ 9. It will be noted that the vowels as indicated on the chart above, are divided into four groups, each of three groups having both front and back vowel representatives. Each of these groups will be discussed in turn below. It is interesting to note the remarkable parallelism and balancing between front and back vowels, which however, is typical of Bantu vowel systems. All of these are pure vowels, having none of the diphthongal quality found in some vowels of English and other languages.

§ 10. The point (.) is here used underneath the vowel symbol to indicate a closer variant of the normal phone represented by that symbol. The relationship of the symbols used in this essay to those of previous investigators is indicated in the following table :

<i>Used here</i>	<i>Jones</i>	<i>Tucker</i>	<i>Crisp</i>	<i>1910 Orth.</i>	<i>1937 Orth.</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>i*</i> (with bar)	<i>e, i</i>	<i>é, i</i>	<i>e, i</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>i*</i> (with bar)	<i>e</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ε</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e*</i> (with hook)	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ε̄</i>	<i>ε̄</i>	<i>ε̄</i>	<i>è̄</i>	<i>è̄</i>	<i>è̄</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ɔ̄</i>	<i>ɔ̄</i>	<i>ɔ̄</i>	<i>ò̄</i>	<i>ò̄</i>	<i>ò̄</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o*</i> (with hook)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>ɔ̄</i>	<i>(inverted omega)*</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>(inverted omega)*</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>ó, u</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>

NOTES

- (i) For the symbols marked with asterisks, reference should be made to the works by Jones and Tucker respectively which have been quoted above. Due to lack of suitable type, these symbols unfortunately cannot be shown here.
- (ii) The relationship to the vowel symbols used by Jones is based on his descriptions rather than on his actual usage, as there is a considerable amount of irregularity in the recording of the vowels in his texts. Words recorded with the *i*, with bar, and inverted Greek omega, in some cases, are recorded with the vowels *e* and *o* in other cases. As a single example of many, note his *tsela* (road, way), on page 3, line 1; and *tsila*, with bar through the *i*, on page 9, line 5. Jones also used a set of italic symbols to represent doubtful sounds. (See Jones, §§ 41, 42, 47, 48.)
- (iii) Tucker relates his *e* and *o*, with subscript hook, to the *e* and *o* phonemes respectively, hence his use of the hook diacritic to indicate a more open variant of the normal vowel sound. (See Tucker, §§ 51, 56.)
- (iv) Crisp's is to be remarked upon as being the only grammatical work in Tswana in which any attempt has been made to distinguish between the *e* and *ɛ*, and the *o* and *ɔ* vowels. Unfortunately however, his use of his system of diacritics is very unreliable. For example, on page 1, he records the infinitive prefix as *gō*, in some cases, but without the diacritic in others. In many cases, not only have diacritics been omitted, but even the wrong ones used.
- (v) The column headed "1910 Orth." shows the vowel symbols decided upon by the Orthography Conference of 1910, and used by Wookey and Brown in the *Secwana Grammar* and *Secwana Dictionary*. Similarly the column headed "1937 Orth." shows the symbols used in the present orthography, as set out by Lestrade.

- (vi) Vowels bracketted together indicate the phonemic grouping adopted here as compared with the groupings of previous investigators, where they have indicated such a grouping.

THE CLOSE VOWELS

- § 11. (i) The close front vowel *i*: This vowel can be regarded as being identical with Cardinal Vowel No. 1. It usually derives from the Ur-Bantu close vowel *î*, postulated by Meinhof, as will be seen by comparison with the Ur-Bantu (UB) roots noted below :

<i>phiri</i> (hyena)	cf. UB *-pítí
<i>moriri</i> (hair)	cf. UB *-títí
<i>bosixo</i> (night)	cf. UB *-tíkú
<i>lēina</i> (name)	cf. UB *-yína

- (ii) Besides its occurrence in stems and roots, this vowel is found :

- (a) In the noun prefixes of classes 8 (*di-*) and 10 (*diN-*) ;¹
- (b) In the corresponding subjectival, objectival and enumberative concords, and in the second element of the corresponding adjectival concords ;
- (c) In the causative suffix *-isa* ;²
- (d) In the perfect stem suffixes *-ilę* and *-itsę* ;
- (e) In the passive suffix *-iwa*, alternative to *-wa* ;
- (f) As the noun agent terminative vowel of deverbal nouns ;
- (g) As the reflexive prefix *i-*

- § 12. (i) The close back vowel *u*: This vowel is identical with Cardinal Vowel No. 8. It is derived in the vast majority of cases from the Ur-Bantu *û*:

<i>shuba</i> (chest)	cf. UB *-kúva
<i>pula</i> (rain)	cf. UB *-vúla
<i>khudu</i> (tortoise)	cf. UB *-yúlú
<i>-dutla</i> (leak)	cf. UB *-lúya

¹ The symbol N in the class 10 prefix represents the homorganic nasal consonant, usually present only with monosyllabic stems, and its morphological influence.

² Two causative suffixes are used in Tswana, these being *-isa* and **-ja* (UB *-ŷa).

(ii) The close back vowel *u* is the least frequently used in the Tswana language. It is not found in any noun prefixes, nor normally in any other formative elements, although it occurs as the terminative vowel of a number of noun and adjectival stems, which indicates that it may at one time have had some formative value. (Cf. Meinhof, § 19, pp. 42, 43.)

(iii) A "fronted" variety of this vowel is found following the palatal nasal *n*, as in :

-*nunuɛtsa* (pout the lips).

Tucker mentions the occurrence of this "fronted" variety also in other contexts, especially when following the flapped lateral *d* (cf. Tucker § 57, p. 26). This has not been noted in the present investigation. The "fronted" *u* appears to be very rare and of no phonological significance.

§ 13. It is important to note that the lateral continuant *l* can be followed by any other vowels than *i* and *u*. When preceding these two close vowels, it gives place to its phonemic variant, the flapped lateral *d*. Examples :

- bala* (read) cf. *mmadi* (reader, one who reads).
- badilɛ* (perfect stem : has read).
- bola* (rot) cf. *sebɔdu* (a rotten thing).

THE OPEN VOWEL

§ 14. (i) The Tswana *a* is intermediate in quality between Cardinal Vowels Nos. 1 and 2. My placing of this vowel would appear to be rather more forward than that indicated by Jones (§ 45, p. xxiv), and Tucker (§ 53, p. 24) :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>thaba</i> (mountain) | cf. UB *- <i>tava</i> |
| <i>kxhaka</i> (guinea-fowl) | cf. UB *- <i>kanya</i> |
| - <i>bala</i> (read, count) | cf. UB *- <i>vala</i> |
| - <i>axa</i> (build) | cf. UB *- <i>yaka</i> |

(i) This is the most frequently used vowel in the Tswana language. Besides its occurrence in stems and roots, it is found :

- (a) As the normal terminative vowel of verb stems ;
- (b) In the noun prefixes and corresponding concords of classes 2 (*ba-*), and 6 (*ma-*) ;

- (c) In a number of verbal derivative suffixes, of which the following are the more common : -*ana*, -*ala*, -*ama*, -*aka*, -*ara*, -*axala*, -*axana*, -*akana*;
- (d) In all possessive concords ;
- (e) In some other formative elements.

(iii) There is a slightly more forward variety of this vowel which may be heard when followed by *i* or *u* (cf. Jones, § 45, and Tucker, § 53), as in
madi (blood) *tau* (lion)

This forward *a* is however, phonologically non-significant, and is not marked in this study.

THE CLOSE MID-VOWELS

§ 15. (i) The close front mid-vowel *e* is intermediate in quality between Cardinal Vowels Nos. 1 and 2. English speakers have difficulty in distinguishing between Tswana *e* and *i*. This vowel is usually derived from UB *i*. Examples :

<i>loleme</i> (tongue)	cf. UB *- <i>limi</i>
<i>mmele</i> (body)	cf. UB *- <i>vili</i>
<i>tsela</i> (road)	cf. UB *- <i>yila</i>
- <i>lema</i> (plough)	cf. UB *- <i>lima</i>

(ii) The *e* vowel is found occurring widely in various types of stems, and is regularly found in the following formatives :

- (a) In the noun prefixes of classes 4 (*me-*), 5 (*le-*) and 7 (*se-*) and in the corresponding subjectival, objectival and enumerative concords, as well as in the second element of corresponding adjectival concords ;
- (b) As the terminative vowel of the negative verb stem ;
- (c) As the terminative vowel of the "habitual" tense of the subjunctive mood.

(iii) It has been noted that in unstressed positions, there is a tendency to retract this vowel to *i* somewhat as in the English "sick" (cf. Tucker, § 50, p. 23). This variant is hardly distinguishable from the normal *e*. It raises no problems in phonological classification, and is therefore not indicated in examples quoted in this essay.

(iv) There is a closer variant of *e*, which is recorded here as *ɛ*. The relationship of *ɛ* to *e* is discussed in § 17 below.

§ 16. (i) The close back mid-vowel *o*, corresponding to *e*, is intermediate between Cardinal Vowels Nos. 7 and 8. English speakers experience some difficulty in distinguishing between Tswana *o* and *u*. Tswana *o* is usually derived from UB *u*:

<i>moθo</i> (person)	cf. UB *-ntu
<i>noko</i> (porcupine)	cf. UB *-nuŋgu
<i>botθoko</i> (pain, bitterness)	cf. UB *-kuŋgu

(ii) The *o* vowel occurs in stems and roots, and is also found in the formative elements listed below:

- (a) In the noun prefixes of classes 1 (*mo-*), 3 (*mo-*), 11 (*lo-*), 14 (*bo-*), 15 (*xo-*), 17 (*xo-*) and 18 (*mo-*), and also in the corresponding subjectival, objectival and enumerative concords, and in the second element of corresponding adjectival concords;
- (b) In the reversible verbal derivative suffixes *-ola* and *-olola*, and their derivative forms.

(iii) In unstressed positions there is a tendency sometimes to advance this vowel slightly towards the *u* in English "pull" (cf. Tucker § 55, p. 25). This variant is unimportant, and is not marked here.

(iv) There is a closer variant of Tswana *o*, which is indicated here by *ø*. The relationship of *ø* to *o* is discussed in the following paragraphs.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *e* TO *e*, AND OF *ø* TO *o*

§ 17. (i) The vowels *e* and *o* cannot be followed in the next syllable by the close vowels *i* and *u*, but are raised in these contexts to *ɛ* and *ø* respectively:

<i>sediba</i> (well, waterhole)	<i>sehuba</i> (chest)
<i>mohubu</i> (navel)	<i>bobi</i> (spider-web)
<i>ba-fetilə</i> (they have passed)	cf. <i>-feta</i> (pass)
<i>baroki</i> (tailors)	cf. <i>-roka</i> (sew)
<i>batʃomi</i> (hunters)	cf. <i>-tfoma</i> (hunt)
<i>mmetsi</i> (one who beats)	cf. <i>-betsa</i> (beat)

Note also the following, in which the *ø* reverts to *o* when the close vowel is removed in the formation of diminutives:

<i>podi</i> (goat) cf. UB *-vulī > - <i>potsane</i> (goat kid)
<i>phɔti</i> (duiker) > - <i>photsana</i> (duiker kid)

(ii) A similar effect is produced on terminative *e* or *o*, when the locative suffix *-iŋ is used with nouns:

<i>setθare</i> (tree)	> locative <i>setθareŋ</i>
<i>motse</i> (village)	> locative <i>motseŋ</i>
<i>batho</i> (people)	> locative <i>bathoŋ</i>
<i>ntlo</i> (house)	> locative <i>ntloŋ</i>

Thus *e* + *-iŋ > -eŋ, and *o* + *-iŋ > -oŋ, by a form of coalescence.

Note that the locative suffix is postulated here for Tswana as being *-iŋ, although Meinhof's postulation of *-inī for Ur-Bantu would give Tswana *-eŋ. Were the suffix *-eŋ, the result *e* + *-eŋ > -eŋ could not be accounted for, as the suffix -ŋ alone does not appear to have any "closing" effect on preceding *e*. For example, the terminative vowel *e* of the negative stem does not change when the relative suffix -ŋ is used with it, as in

moθo jɔ-o-sa-rɛkey (a person who does not buy).

The suffix -ŋ alone, does however, affect the *e* and *ɔ* vowels, as will be seen later.

(iii) The placing of the vowels *e* and *ø* on the vowel chart is however somewhat arbitrary. These vowels occupy positions between *i* and *e*, and *u* and *o* respectively, and even the trained ear has great difficulty in distinguishing them from either member of these pairs. The quality of *e* and *ø* furthermore varies to some extent with different speakers (perhaps dialectally), and apparently also in different words. With some speakers, *e* and *ø* show little variation from *e* and *o*, but with most, they are very close to and often almost indistinguishable from *i* and *u* respectively. In some cases it seems in fact that these vowels are identical with *i* and *u*, as is evidenced by the tendency, in a very limited number of words, to change the lateral continuant *l* to its phonemic variant *d* when preceding them. (Cf. § 13 above.)

The tendency to do this in the few words concerned seems to be more prevalent in the Southern Tswana dialects, that is those in the Northern Cape Province, than in the dialects of Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Western Transvaal. Note the following examples :

mmele (body) > locative *mmeley* or *mmədɪy*

pelo (heart) > locative *peloy* or *peduy*

louſ or *loſɔ* or *dūſɔ* (spoon) (class 11)

-*lēlod̩i* or -*dilod̩i* (adjective: white spotted on black).

Two possible locative forms are also found for *ntlo* (house), becoming *ntloy*, where the nasal prefix is retained ; and *tluy*, where the prefix is dropped. It seems possible therefore that slight variations in tone, stress and length may influence the quality of the vowel sound, although it has not yet been possible to make a detailed study of these prosodic factors. Further evidence of this will however be noted later.

(iv) With many speakers the closing influence of *i*, *u* or *-*iŋ* on preceding vowels of the *e*, *o* type, works retrogressively until a break of that type occurs. Thus :

mosepeley, locative of *mosepele* (journey)

bɔt̩hokoy, locative of *bot̩hoko* (pain)

xa-ke-mq-itse (I do not know him).

With other speakers, the closing influence may be noted only in the first or second syllable preceding the *i*, *u* or *-*iŋ*.

(v) That *e* and *ɛ* do not belong to the same phoneme as *i*, nor *o* and *ø* to the same phoneme as *u*, in spite of the purely phonetic coincidences mentioned above, will be indicated by the following examples, where they are shown to be semantically differentiating. Some of these pairs are of course differentiated by tone also :

-*bitsa* (call) > perfect stem -*bidiṭsɛ*

-*betsa* (beat) > perfect stem -*bədiṭsɛ*

-*bua* (speak) > perfect stem -*builɛ*

-*boa* (return) > perfect stem -*boiḷɛ*

-*duma* (roar) > perfect stem -*dumilɛ*

-*loma* (bite) > perfect stem -*lomilɛ*

-*dika* (go round) > perfect stem -*dikilɛ*

- <i>leka</i> (try)	> perfect stem - <i>lēkilɛ</i>
<i>loſu</i> (mosu bush thicket)	> locative <i>loſuy</i>
<i>loſo</i> (death)	> locative <i>loſoy</i>
<i>dibi</i> (dry cakes of dung)	> locative <i>dibiy</i>
<i>dibe</i> (sins, evils)	> locative <i>dibey</i>

(vi) From this evidence we must conclude therefore that phonetically the vowels *e* and *ø* are acoustically and positionally very close to *i* and *u* respectively, and may in fact with some speakers be identical with them. Phonologically however, *e* and *ø* are variants of the *e* and *o* phonemes and bear no relationship to *i* and *u*. In a practical orthography, the vowel *e* should therefore be represented by the same symbol as *e*, and similarly *ø* by the same symbol as *o*. This will be more fully discussed in § 52 below.

THE OPEN MID-VOWELS

§ 18. (i) The front open mid-vowel *ɛ* is approximately the same as Cardinal Vowel No. 3, or perhaps very slightly more open. Comparison with Ur-Bantu roots reveals that this vowel is nearly always derived from the UB *e* :

selpe (axe) cf. UB *-*lembɛ*

mabɛle (breasts) cf. UB *-*vele*

-*rema* (chop) cf. UB *-*tema*

-*cta* (travel) cf. UB *-*yenda*.

(ii) A slightly more open variety of *ɛ* is used by many speakers when followed by *a*. This variant does not, however, raise any problems of phonological classification, and is not marked in the examples given.

(iii) Besides its occurrence as a stem vowel, it is important to note that *ɛ* is the normal terminative vowel of the present subjunctive verb stem, and of imperatives incorporating an objectival concord or reflexive prefix, e.g.:

o-botse (you should ask) cf. -*botsa* (ask)

o-reke (buy it) cf. -*reka* (buy).

(iv) There is a closer variant of *ɛ*, indicated by *ɛ̄*, which is slightly lower in tongue position and quality than Cardinal Vowel No. 2. It is usually difficult for English speakers to distinguish

between Tswana *ɛ* and *e*. The relationship of *ɛ* to *e* is discussed in §§ 20 to 39 below.

§ 19. (i) The back open mid-vowel *ɔ* is equivalent to Cardinal Vowel No. 6, or perhaps very slightly lower. Note however, that both Jones (§ 46) and Tucker (§ 54) regard Tswana *ɔ* as being rather more open than is indicated here. As with *e*, a slightly more open variant is sometimes to be heard when followed by *a*, but this is non-significant and is not indicated here. Tswana *ɔ* is derived in the majority of cases from Ur-Bantu *o*:

<i>mabɔxa</i> (arms)	cf. UB *-voko
<i>ɸɔɔ</i> (bull)	cf. UB *-voyo
- <i>nɔna</i> (become fat)	cf. UB *-nona
- <i>bɔna</i> (see)	cf. UB *-vona

(ii) Besides occurring frequently as a stem vowel, this vowel has an important function as the usual terminative vowel of impersonal nouns formed from verbs, e.g.:

<i>mɔdumɔ</i> (noise, thunder)	cf. - <i>duma</i> (roar, thunder)
<i>lorɔɔ</i> (love)	cf. - <i>rata</i> (love)
<i>tirɔ</i> (work)	cf. - <i>dira</i> (do, work).

(iii) A closer variant of *ɔ*, which is slightly more open than Cardinal Vowels No. 7, is indicated here by *?*. English speakers have difficulty in distinguishing this variant from Tswana *o*. The relationship of *?* to *ɔ* is discussed below.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *ɛ* TO *e* AND OF ? TO *ɔ*

§ 20 The relationship of *ɛ* to *e* and of *?* to *ɔ* in Tswana is a very complex one, being far more complex than the relationship of the equivalent mid-vowels in Zulu, Venda, Lamba and other Bantu languages. As will be seen in the following paragraphs, the vowels *ɛ* and *?* are subject to a number of closing or narrowing influences, some of which are no longer obvious and must be sought by reference to the historical phonology of the language.

§ 21 When *ɛ* and *ɔ* are followed in the next syllable by the close vowels *i* or *u*, they are raised to *e* and *?* respectively :

<i>selɛdu</i> (chin)	cf. UB *-lelū
<i>-fwɛu</i> (white)	cf. UB *-pokū
<i>phɔhu</i> (eland)	cf. UB *-yoyū
<i>tlɔu</i> (elephant)	cf. UB *-yeli
<i>ŋwɛdi</i> (moon, moonlight)	cf. UB *-yela
<i>morɛki</i> (buyer) < - <i>reka</i>	cf. UB *-teyga
<i>molɔri</i> (dreamer) < - <i>bra</i>	cf. UB *-loita
<i>mmɔni</i> (seer) < - <i>bɔna</i>	cf. UB *-vona.

§ 22. When *ɛ* and *?* are followed in the next syllable by the close mid-vowels *e* or *?*, or their variants, they are raised to *e* and *?* respectively :

<i>tʃhwɛne</i> (baboon)	
<i>pɛo</i> (seed)	cf. UB *-veyu
<i>kxhɔmo</i> (head of cattle)	
<i>xa-ke-bɔne</i> (I do not see)	cf. - <i>bɔna</i> (see)
<i>ke-ɛme</i> (I am standing)	cf. - <i>ɛma</i> (stand)
- <i>ɛpolola</i> (dig out)	cf. - <i>ɛpa</i> (dig)
- <i>tlhɔmola</i> (pull out)	cf. - <i>tlhɔma</i> (plant).

§ 23. (i) The nasal consonants *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and *y*, when syllabic, require preceding vowels of the *ɛ*, *?* type to be of close quality, that is *ɛ* and *?*, e.g.:

- <i>tlhɔmpha</i> ¹ (respect)	cf. Zulu - <i>hlonipha</i>
- <i>bɔntsha</i> (show) < *- <i>bɔnisa</i> , causative of - <i>bɔna</i>	(see)
<i>pɔŋtʃɔ</i> (showing) < - <i>bɔntsha</i> (show)	
- <i>tsɛntsha</i> (cause to enter) < *- <i>tsɛnisa</i> < - <i>tsena</i>	(enter)

<i>tselɛŋ</i> , locative of <i>tsela</i> (road)	
<i>tsɛbɛŋ</i> , locative of <i>tsɛbe</i> (ear)	
<i>tirɔŋ</i> , locative of <i>tirɔ</i> (work)	
<i>di-rekɛŋ</i> (buy ye them), plural of <i>di-reke</i>	
<i>moŋŋ</i> (stranger)	cf. UB *-yeni
<i>kxhɔkɔŋ</i> (gnu)	cf. UB *-kongoni.

(ii) This group might be included under § 21 above, as all of these syllabic nasals derive from an original *-ni (UB *-n̩), and it is actually the *i*, now lost, whose influence on preceding *ɛ* and *?* vowels still remains. In the case of the locative suffix, there is also coalescence of the terminative vowel of the stem with the vowel of the suffix, resulting in :

¹ Most informants regarded this stem as not being typically Tswana. It is probably a borrowing from Zulu, via Southern Sotho.

$-\varepsilon+*-\text{iy} > -\xi\eta$, $-\sigma+*-\text{iy} > -\vartheta\eta$, and $-a+*-\text{iy} > -\varepsilon\eta$.

(iii) The following words have been noted in which syllabic *n* does not affect preceding σ :

tɔntɔbəne (black-chested Prinia)

tɔntɔls (core of a matter, tip of a root).

A possible explanation for these exceptions is that they may be ideophonic in origin. Exceptions to the general phonological rules of the language are not uncommon in ideophones.

§ 24. (i) The vowels ε and σ are raised to ξ and ϑ respectively when they are followed by the alveolar consonants *s*, *ts* and *tsh*, and the palatals *f*, *tf* and *ŋ*, if these are the products by palatalization¹ of some other consonant plus the causative suffix $*-ja$ (UB $*-\bar{y}a$):

<i>-xɔr̩sa</i> or <i>-xɔr̩tsha</i> (bring home)	$< -xɔr̩xa$ (come home, arrive)
<i>-bɛl̩esa</i> (cause to carry)	$< -bɛlexa$ (carry)
<i>pɛl̩esa</i> (pack-ox)	$< -bɛl̩esa$ (cause to carry)
<i>pɛl̩ɛʃ?</i> (load, burden)	$< -bɛl̩esa$
<i>-fɛtsa</i> (finish, complete)	$< -fɛla$ (come to an end)
<i>pʰɛtʃ?</i> (end, completion)	$< -fɛtsa$ (finish, complete)
<i>-tlwaɛtsa</i> (make accus- tomed to)	$< -tlwaɛla$ (become accustomed to)
<i>-atamɛtsa</i> (bring near)	$< -atamela$ (approach)
<i>-belaɛtsa</i> (cause to doubt)	$< -belaɛla$ (doubt)
<i>-tlɔtsa</i> (anoint, smear on)	$< -tlɔla$ (anoint, smear)
<i>-tsɛpa</i> (put in, cause to enter)	$< -tsɛna$ (enter)
<i>-bɔ̄pa</i> (wink, blink)	$< -bɔ̄na$ ² (see).

The following causative forms which appear to be contractions from original forms employing the suffix *-isa*, also fall under this rule. The suffix *-isa* is postulated by Meinhof as being derived from UB $*-eka+*-\bar{y}a$:

-apara (dress) $>$ causative *apɛsa* $< *-apaisa$
 $< *-aparisa$.

¹ The term palatalization is here used in its broad sense and includes alveolarization.

-rwala (bear,etc.) $>$ causative *-rwɛsa* $< *-rwaisa$
 $< *-rwadisa$.

(ii) There exist numerous verb stems, containing the vowels ε and σ , and sharing other features with the examples quoted above, for which, however, no simple stems have been noted with certainty. These must however be regarded as causative stems, and be included under this rule. Examples:

<i>-bɛsa</i> (roast, bake)	$< *-bexa$, cf. UB $*-vaka$ (burn)
<i>-rɛtsa</i> (listen)	$< *-reela$, cf. <i>-raja</i> (tell)
<i>-ɔkɛtsa</i> (increase, add to)	$< *-ɔkela$
<i>-xɔtsa</i> (kindle fire)	$< *-xɔla$
<i>-fɛpa</i> (conquer, overcome)	$< *-fena$
<i>-tʃhwɛna</i> (annoy, trouble)	$< *-tʃhwena$
<i>-tɬhɔ̄pa</i> (bristle)	$< *-tɬhona$.

(iii) The suffix *-ɛtsa*, which has an applied significance when used with causative verb stems, must be included here. The same form occurs in some of the examples given above, where however, it is treated as the causative of the applied form. Historically *-ɛtsa* $< *-ɛl̩ja$, $< -cla+*-\bar{y}a$ (UB $*-el̩ya$ $< *-ela+*-\bar{y}a$). Examples:

<i>-disa</i> (herd cattle,	$> -disɛtsa$ (herd for, etc.) look after)
<i>-xɔr̩sa</i> (bring home)	$> -xɔr̩sɛtsa$ (bring home to, etc.)
<i>-bitsa</i> (call)	$> -bilɛtsa$ (call for, to, etc.).

(iv) The consonants *s*, *f*, *ts*, *tf*, *tsh* and *tʃh*, may also occur:

- As the products of palatalization in the formation of the passive verb stem, with the suffix *-wa*;
- As the products of palatalization in the formation of diminutives, with the suffixes *-ana* or *-apania*;
- In the persistive verb suffix *-sela*;
- As derivatives in some cases of the UB consonants *ŋg*, *l* and *nd*, and perhaps some others.

In these cases, these consonants do not have any effect on preceding ε and σ vowels.

² This derivation is not quite certain as these two stems have different tone patterns.

- <i>bɔfa</i> (tie up)	> passive - <i>bɔfwa</i>
- <i>lɔpa</i> (request)	> passive - <i>lɔfwa</i>
<i>selcɔp</i> (axe)	> diminutive <i>seletswana</i>
<i>tshephɛ</i> (springbok)	> diminutive <i>tshetʃhwana</i>
- <i>tetesela</i> (shiver)	cf. ideophone <i>tete</i> (of shivering)
- <i>phɔtɔsela</i> (tumble, gush, of water)	cf. ideophone <i>phɔtɔ</i> (of gushing, etc.)
<i>molctse</i> (leg: obsolescent)	cf. UB *- <i>lenge</i>
<i>moetse</i> (mane)	cf. UB *- <i>yende</i>
- <i>otsela</i> (be drowsy, doze)	cf. UB *- <i>yola</i> .

Note that Tucker does indicate some vowel changes in the formation of passsives and diminutives. (Cf. §§ 216, 239-240.)

§ 25. (i) The occurrence of open ε before the ejected lateral explosive *tl* is comparatively rare. In the majority of cases the raised variant ɛ is found. In the following list of words, and a number of others, my informants gave the vowel qualities indicated:

<i>mɔrɛtlwa</i> (species of berry)	<i>molɛtlɔ</i> (feast)
<i>lexɛtlə</i> (shoulder)	<i>kxhɛtlane</i> (collar-bone)
<i>letlamɛtlɔ</i> (bull-frog)	<i>bopapɛtlə</i> (flatness, a level)
<i>lefɛtlə</i> (soft juicy part of a bone)	
<i>nnɛtlane</i> ("what's-his-name", "thingummybob")	
- <i>nɛtlə</i> (verb : to "thingummybob")	
- <i>karetlə</i> (roar, snarl)	
- <i>kxhɛtlə</i> (pick, pluck)	
- <i>khabɛtlə</i> (cut, hack to pieces)	
- <i>ʃɛbɛtləxa</i> (be griped, have sharp pains in the stomach)	
- <i>ikɛtlə</i> (wait, be patient, be careful)	
- <i>bɛtlə</i> (carve, work in wood), cf. UB *- <i>vaiya</i> , S. Sotho - <i>betla</i> .	

(ii) Some inconsistency is to be noted in the following stems in which ε may in some cases interchange with ɛ:

- <i>xwɛtlə</i> (bleat, as of a goat)
- <i>pɛtləka</i> or - <i>petləka</i> (open out flat)
<i>petləka</i> ¹ (bateleur eagle), cf. - <i>petləka</i> (open out)
<i>dirɛtlɔ</i> or <i>diretlɔ</i> (viscera)

-*bɛtləla* or *betləla* (carve for, at etc.), cf. -*bɛtlə* (carve)

¹ Probably due to the bateleur's characteristic soaring flight with outspread wings. This name does not appear to be used in the Southern dialects.

bobetləls or *bobetləs* (carpenter's place, shop),
cf. -*bɛtlə* (carve)
-*petla* or -*petla* (*molɔmo*) (pout the lips).

It is interesting to note that some speakers who use the closer vowel in -*bɛtlə* (carve), may use the open variant in the derived verb -*betləla*, and the noun *bobetləls* (place for working wood).

(iii) As far as it has been possible to determine, the Tswana ejected lateral explosive *tl* is invariably derived from the Ur-Bantu palatal consonant γ although UB parent stems to most of the examples quoted above have not been noted by either Meinhof or Bourquin. Meinhof suggests that UB γ is derived from a still earlier γ+i (cf. § 12, p.32), which would provide us with the close vowel influence responsible for all of these changes of the open mid-vowels. Yet the corresponding back vowel ɔ appears to occur regularly before *tl* without undergoing any change, which is difficult to explain in the light of this theory. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that originally Tswana *tl* did not permit the open ε to precede it, but required a change to the variant ɛ. In the modern language, however, this influence is losing its effect, hence we find a few words in which modern usage permits of the open variant, or may alternate between the two. The phenomenon of a dying phonetic influence is not uncommon in present-day Tswana. For example, the palatalizing influence of back vowels and w on preceding s, ts and tsh, requiring them to change to f, tf and tʃ, seems to exert itself fully only in the Tlhaping and adjacent dialects. Similarly, the palatalizing influence of the class 5 prefix *le-* on certain initial consonants of stems is dying out.

§ 26. (i) When the stem vowel of nouns and adjectives is ε or ɔ due to the influence of following i, u, e, o or -γ, and this influence is removed in the formation of diminutives by suffixing -ana or -anana, it frequently reverts to the open ε or ɔ as the case may be. In the case of the few adjectives concerned, this reversion is associated with the phenomenon of "vowel breaking" which is discussed in § 40 below :

kxhɔsi (chief) > *kxhɔsana* (petty chief)

<i>kxh̥mo</i> (head of cattle)	> <i>kxh̥ywana</i> (young animal)
<i>mol̥mo</i> (mouth)	> <i>mol̥ywana</i> (small mouth)
<i>nɔŋ</i> (big bird, generic)	> <i>nɔŋane</i> (bird, generic)
<i>moxɔ̥du</i> (stomach, paunch)	> <i>moxɔ̥tswana</i> little stomach
<i>lexɔ̥du</i> (thief)	> <i>lexotswana</i> (little thief)
<i>kxh̥ri</i> (kori bustard)	> <i>kxh̥otshana</i> (little bustard).

(ii) There are many such cases in which *ɛ* and *ɔ* retain their close quality. This is possibly due merely to a conservative tendency to retain the characteristic vowel of the simple stem. The retention of the characteristic vowel seems often to depend on the individual choice of the speaker, but may vary dialectally :

<i>moɛŋ</i> (stranger)	> <i>moɛŋana</i> (little stranger)
<i>tʃhwene</i> (baboon)	> <i>tʃhwɛŋane</i> (little baboon)
<i>nakədi</i> (pole-cat)	> <i>nakətsana</i> (small pole-cat)
<i>kxh̥etse</i> (bag)	<i>kxh̥etsana</i> or <i>kxhetsana</i> (small bag)
<i>sel̥du</i> (chin)	> <i>sel̥etswana</i> or <i>seletswana</i>
<i>senɔ̥nɔ̥ri</i> (mythical animal)	> <i>senɔ̥nɔ̥tshana</i>
<i>set̥hɔ̥ŋ</i> (hedge-hog)	> <i>set̥hɔ̥ŋana</i> or <i>set̥hɔ̥ŋpana</i>
<i>lenɔ̥ŋ</i> (vulture)	> <i>lenɔ̥ŋana</i> or <i>lenɔ̥ŋpana</i>
<i>kxh̥kɔ̥ŋ</i> (gnu)	> <i>kxh̥kɔ̥ŋana</i> or <i>kxh̥kɔ̥ŋpana</i> .

(iii) It should be noted that, as in other cases, nouns ending in syllabic *ŋ* may form their diminutives by two methods. In the first, the suffix used is *-ana* or *-apana*, of which examples have already been given. In the second method, the suffix *-ŋana* is used. In all other cases, this suffix causes no changes whatever in stems to which it is affixed, but in the case of stems ending in *ŋ*, palatalization takes place, resulting in *-ŋ+ -ŋana* > *-ŋpana* :

<i>kxh̥kɔ̥ŋ</i> (gnu)	> <i>kxh̥kɔ̥ŋpana</i>
<i>lenɔ̥ŋ</i> (vulture)	> <i>lenɔ̥ŋpana</i>
<i>moɛŋ</i> (stranger)	> <i>moɛŋpana</i> .

Here, under the influence of the syllabic nasal, there is no reversion to the open vowel.

§ 27. Any of the various types of closing influence mentioned above, which cause *ɛ* and *ɔ* to change to *ɛ* and *ɔ*, will exert that influence retrogressively until a break of the *ɛ*, *ɔ* type occurs. Examples : *phɔ̥lzfɔ̥lɔ̥* (wild animal) > locative *phɔ̥lzfɔ̥lɔ̥ŋ* *moselele* (kind of tree) > locative *moseleleŋ* -*ɔ̥melela* (dry out well) > causative -*ɔ̥mɛlɛtsa* -*emelela* (stand for, represent) < *moɛmɛlɛdi* (representative).

But note the following in which a break of type occurs :

<i>-robatsa</i> (put to sleep)	> perfect stem <i>-rɔba-</i> <i>ditsɛ</i>
<i>-kɔpanela</i> (meet at)	> perfect stem <i>-kɔpan-</i> <i>ɛtse.</i>

§ 28. (i) The vowels *ɛ* and *ɔ*, when in the penultimate syllable, exert a progressive influence on the final vowel if it be *ɛ* or *ɔ*, changing it to *ɛ* or *ɔ* as the case may be. Thus the terminative vowel of the present tense, subjunctive mood, or of imperatives with objectival concord or reflexive prefix, which is normally *ɛ*, becomes *ɛ* if the vowel in the penultimate syllable is *ɛ* or *ɔ*. In like manner, the terminative vowel of impersonal nouns derived from verbs, normally *ɔ*, becomes *ɔ* in similar circumstances. Examples : *o-fɛŋɛ* (you should conquer) cf. *-fɛŋa* (conquer) *o-xɔ̥tsɛ* (you should kindle) cf. *-xɔ̥tsa* (kindle fire) *di-xɔ̥rɔ̥sɛ* (bring them home!) cf. *-xɔ̥rɔ̥sa* (bring home)

<i>ikɛtlɛ</i> (wait! be careful!)	cf. <i>-ikɛtla</i> (wait)
<i>boikɛtlɔ̥</i> (patience, care)	cf. <i>-ikɛtla</i> (wait)
<i>pheŋɔ̥</i> (victory)	cf. <i>-fɛŋa</i> (conquer)
<i>pɛtlɔ̥</i> (adze)	cf. <i>-bɛtla</i> (carve)
<i>pɔ̥ŋɔ̥</i> (wink, blink)	cf. <i>-bɔ̥ŋa</i> (wink, blink)
<i>tshirɛlɛtsɛ</i> (protection)	cf. <i>-sirɛlɛtsa</i> (protect).

(ii) It is this interesting phenomenon which led Wookey and other early investigators to believe that nouns ending in *ɔ* were derived from the "passive form" of the verb, whereas those derived from the "active form" ended in *ɔ̥*. (Cf. Wookey, pp. 20-21, § 11, (iv) and (v). Wookey's further statement on p. 23, § 12, was much nearer to the truth. (See also Crisp § 9, pp. 9-10.)

(iii) That this progressive influence is exerted by these particular vowels when penultimate, and not by the consonants *s*, *ts*, *n*, *tl* etc., nor by other vowels, will be shown by the following examples:

<i>pits</i>	(meeting)	<i>potʃ</i>	(question)
<i>puf</i>	(reign)	<i>phif</i>	(burning)
<i>tshew</i>	(damage)	<i>kakaw</i>	(thought)
<i>path</i>	(search, seeking)	<i>tlotw</i>	(honour, acclaim).

(iv) Further examples of the "balancing" of the *ɛ* and *ɔ* vowels are to be found in the "inclusive" quantitative pronouns, e.g. *bɔt̩hɛ*, *lɔt̩hɛ*, *tʃɔt̩hɛ*, etc. (all, the whole of); and in the fourth positional demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *sefɛ*, *lplɛ*, *tsɛfɛ*, etc. (that, those yonder).

(v) This progressive influence of *ɛ* and *ɔ* is not normally exerted if they be ante-penultimate, although it has occasionally been noted in quick speech. Thus :

-*fɛnɛxa* (be conquerable), rarely -*fɛnɛxa*
-*sirɛletsɛxa* (become protected), rarely -*sirɛletsɛxa*,
etc.

ADDITIONAL OCCURRENCES OF *ɛ*

§ 29. In addition to the occurrences of *ɛ* which have been mentioned above, in which there is a distinct, if not always perfectly regular, relationship with *e*, this vowel is also found in the circumstances described below.

§ 30. The vowel *ɛ* occurs in the first positional demonstrative pronouns of classes 4 (*ɛ*), 5 (*lɛ* or *dʒɛ*), 7 (*se*), 8 (*tsɛ*), 9 (*ɛ*), and 10 (*tsɛ*). These demonstrative stems retain this vowel quality irrespective of the quality of vowels in formative elements which may be suffixed to them in the formation of other positional types of demonstratives. For examples :

tsɛ > *tsɛo*, *tsɛno*, or *tsɛna*, *tsɛlɛ* or *tsɛla*.

The first positional demonstratives are also used as the initial elements in the formation of adjectival and relative concords of the corresponding noun classes. In no circumstance is the vowel of these demonstratives affected by the context in which they may appear.

§ 31. (i) A number of stems, also characterized by the final consonant *l*, has *ɛ* as both penultimate and final vowel:

<i>let̩bɛlɛ</i>	(Ndebele tribesman), cf. S. Sotho <i>letebele</i>
<i>mɔsilabɛlɛ</i>	(Kareeboom tree)
<i>lexɛlɛxɛlɛ</i>	(unripe fruit)
<i>-lɛlɛlɛ</i>	(long, tall)
<i>sefafalɛlɛ</i>	(spendthrift, waster)
<i>serurubɛlɛ</i>	(butterfly) <i>dikokobɛlɛ</i> (flying ants)
<i>boŋɛlɛlɛ</i>	(numbness, type of rheumatism which disappears by day).

(ii) No entirely satisfactory reason has yet been found for the occurrence of *ɛ* as the vowel in these and a number of similar stems, for they occur side by side with stems in which the open *e* is regularly used, e.g.:

<i>mabele</i> (corn)	<i>letsɛle</i> (breast)
<i>kxhatsele</i> (beestings)	<i>moselele</i> (type of tree).

(iii) Some of these stems however, show a remarkable resemblance to verb stems with related meanings:

<i>boŋɛlɛlɛ</i> (numbness)	cf. - <i>nelela</i> (disappear)
<i>dikokobɛle</i> (flying ants)	cf. - <i>kokobala</i> (float, be buoyant)
<i>serurubɛlɛ</i> (butterfly)	cf. - <i>rurubala</i> (flutter, flap).

One is tempted to suggest that these stems are derived from verbs by an obsolete method of formation, and further that originally their terminative vowel was *e*, and not *ɛ*. The occasional use of *e* as the final vowel of nouns derived from verbs is seen in *mosepele* (journey, walk) <-*sepela* (walk). If the final vowel of these stems were formerly *e*, the change to *ɛ* could be attributed to a type of progressive assimilation such as that described in § 28 above. In this case, however, the assimilation would involve a change of phoneme from *e* to *ɛ*, a variant of the *e* phoneme.

§ 32. (i) The vowel *ɛ* is the normal terminative of the suffix *-ilɛ*, used in the formation of the perfect stem, but occasionally when the speaker was being very emphatic, final *e* has been heard. The corresponding suffix used with causative stems is *-itsɛ*, derived from *-iljɛ < *-ilɛ + *-ja (UB *-iljɛ < *-ile + *-ya).

(ii) Where neither of these suffixes is used, but some type of contracted perfect stem is formed, an interesting process of dissimilation of vowel type is to be observed, in which either *e* or *e* may be the terminative vowel. This is best illustrated by indicating the changes which may take place as in the following table:

(a)	
-ala > -etse,	e.g. -robala (sleep) > -rɔbɛtse
-ela > -etse,	e.g. -nelela (disappear) > -nɛlɛtse
-ola > -otse,	e.g. -xɔt̄hɔla (cough) > -xɔt̄hɔt̄se
-ala > -ele,	e.g. -rwala (bear, barry) > -rwɛle
-ara > -erɛ,	e.g. -tʃhwara (hold) > -tʃhwɛre
-ama > -ame, ¹	e.g. -at̄hama (gape, etc.)
	> -at̄hame
-ana > -ape, ¹	e.g. -rakana (meet) > -rakane

(b)	
-ila > -itse,	e.g. -hubila (redden) > -hubitse
-ula > -utse,	e.g. -huhula (perspire) > -huhutse
-ela > -etse,	e.g. -sepela (walk) > -sepetsɛ
-ola > -otse,	e.g. -tlh̄mola (pull out) > -tlh̄motse

(c)	
-na > -nnɛ,	e.g. -nɔna (grow fat) > -nɔnnɛ
-na > -ntsɛ,	e.g. -akanya (consider) > -akantsɛ.

These changes may be classified into three groups as follows:

- (a) Those in which the penultimate syllable contains the open vowels *a*, *e* or *o*, in which case the terminative is *e*, that is, close;
- (b) Those in which the penultimate syllable contains the close vowels *i*, *u*, *e* or *o*, in which case the terminative vowel is *e*, that is, open;
- (c) Those in which the penultimate syllable is a nasal, in which case the terminative vowel is *e*.

(iii) Monosyllabic verbs also follow this rule of final vowel choice, and may thus have perfects ending in *-ilɛ*, *-ulɛ*, *-ele*, or *-olc*.

(iv) The only exceptions noted as yet to the rule of dissimilation stated above are the verbs *-dula* (sit) and *-kxhora* (be satisfied, of food). In these

¹ In a few cases, stems following these rules have other vowels than *a* in the penultimate syllable.

two cases, the final vowel of the perfect stem is normally *e*, although final *ɛ* for the perfect stem of *-dula* has been noted. The formation with these two stems is therefore:

-dula (sit) > perfect -dutse (rarely -dutsɛ)

-kxhora (be satisfied) > perfect -kxhotshe.

A further interesting point is to be noted about the stem *-kxhora*. This contains the close mid-vowel *o* as stem vowel, which according to the rule stated in section (ii) (b) above, would be expected to have *e* as the final vowel of the perfect stem. As it happens, the final vowel is *e*, and therefore by analogy with the other forms which have terminative *e* in the perfect stem, there is a tendency to pronounce it *-kxhotshe*, with stem vowel *ɔ* instead of *o*.

(v) The rule of vowel dissimilation in the formation of the perfect stem, as given above, does not apply in Southern Sotho. The position in Northern Sotho has not yet been investigated. (Cf. Tucker, § 66, note 1.)

§ 33. A number of words, which are obviously diminutives, have a double *ɛ* vowel preceding the consonants *ts* or *tf*:

morwɛɛtsana (young woman) cf. *morwadi*

(daughter, N. Sotho : *morwedi*)

sexwɛɛtsane (small hawk) cf. *sexwedi* (hawk)

selɛɛtsvana (mantis)

lethɛɛtsane or *lethɛɛtsvana* or *lethetswana* (Crowned Plover).

Except in the case of the last example, these words have not been noted with open *ɛ*. In the last case, it should be noted that the open *ɛ* is only found when it occurs singly.² When the double vowel occurs, it is always of close quality, that is *ɛ*. The reason why the vowel in these words should be of close quality is not entirely clear. It may be due to the following *ts* or *tf* consonant; or to the fact that the vowel is doubled; or it may be a function of this particular type of diminutive formation which is now obsolete. The formation of diminutives in the modern language does

² In this case, the diminutive corresponds with those described in § 24 (iv) and § 26 (i) above, in which the unchanged open variant is found.

not result in duplication of the stem vowel which seems to take place in these examples.

§ 34. A few monosyllabic deficient verbs have *ɛ* as their final vowel. The chief of these are: -*nɛ*, -*bɛ*, -*sɛ*, and -*kɛ*. See also § 39 below.

ADDITIONAL OCCURRENCES OF *ɔ*

§ 35. A number of occurrences of *ɔ* have already been described, in which this vowel shows a distinct, if not always perfectly regular, relationship to *ɔ*. As in the case of the corresponding front vowel, *ɔ* is also found in some other stems and formatives in which there is no alternation with *ɔ*.

§ 36. The prefix of noun class 2a in Tswana is *bɔ-*. This prefix is unusual in that it contains an open mid-vowel, whereas all other noun prefixes contain the vowels *e*, *i*, *o* or *a*. This prefix also has high tone, whereas all other noun prefixes have low tone.

§ 37. The *ɔ* vowel is found in the first positional demonstrative pronouns of classes 1 (*jɔ*), 3 (*y*), 11 (*lɔ*), 14 (*dʒɔ* or *bɔ*), 17 (*kɔ*),¹ and 18 (*mɔ*). This position corresponds with that of the demonstratives containing the front vowel *ɛ*, which are described in § 30 above. As in that case, the vowel of these words remains unchanged, no matter what vowels may follow in succeeding syllables, as in the formation of other positional types of demonstratives, e.g.:

lɔ > lɔo, lɔno or lɔna, lɔlɛ or lɔla.

The first positional demonstratives are also used as the initial element in the formation of the corresponding adjectival and relative concords. The class 17 (*kɔ*) and 18 (*mɔ*) forms, together with that of class 16 (*fa*), are also used as adverbial locative formatives, e.g.:

mɔ-thabɛy (on the mountain)

kɔ-thabɛy (to, from, at the mountain).

¹ With a more common but less typical variant form *kwa*. See "vowel breaking", § 41.

In no circumstance is the vowel of these demonstratives affected by the context in which they may appear as formatives.

§ 38. The pronominal prefixes of the quantitative pronouns contain the vowel *ɔ*. Here again the quality of the vowel is not influenced by context:

setlhare fɔt̄hɛ (the whole tree)
bathō bɔt̄hɛ (all the people)
bɔne bɔsi (they only, they alone)
batho bɔqbabɛdi (both people)
dipɔai tʃɔt̄haro (all three goats).

§ 39. Most of the monosyllabic deficient verbs mentioned in § 34 above may also be found with *ɔ*, this usually, but not always, being due to assimilation when used with subjectival concords containing the vowel *o*. Similar assimilation of the vowel of these verbs to *a* may be found. Examples:

ke-nɛ ke-reka (I was buying)
o-nɔ o-reka (thou wast buying)
o-na a-reka (he, she, was buying).

CONCLUSIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF *ɛ* TO *ɔ*, AND OF *ɔ* TO *ɔ*

§ 40. (i) Reviewing the preceding paragraphs, we find that the vowels *ɛ* and *ɔ* occur:

(a) In certain circumstances as regular variants of *ɛ* and *ɔ* respectively, in which cases regular rules govern the change of *ɛ* to *ɛ* and of *ɔ* to *ɔ*. These cases include the majority of the occurrences of the *ɛ* and *ɔ* vowels in the language;

(b) In certain circumstances in which they are interchangeable with *ɛ* and *ɔ*, but no definite rules appear to govern the interchange. In such cases there appears in some instances to be a conservative tendency to retain the characteristic vowel of the stem, as is indicated in § 26 above. In other instances, the variability can be attributed to obsolescent phonetic influences, whose effect is still retained in many words, but not in all, as is shown in § 25;

- (c) In certain stems and formatives in which there is no alternation with *ɛ* and *ɔ*.
- (ii) In spite of the apparent irregularities in the relationships of the open mid-vowels, and of the fact that at this preliminary stage, a few of the reasons for the occurrence of the raised variants have not been quite satisfactorily adduced, there can be no hesitation in classifying *ɛ* and *ɔ* as belonging to the same phonemes as *e* and *o* respectively. Satisfactory explanations have been given in the very vast majority of cases for the changes from the open varieties of these vowels to the close ones, and rules governing these changes have accordingly been set out.¹ Here however, the classification is based purely on phonological grounds. As will be seen later, there is evidence of further grounds for this phonemic grouping, namely the psychological realization of the relationships of these vowels by Native speakers of the language.
- "VOWEL BREAKING"**
- § 41. (i) Before going on to a more general discussion, it would be of value to consider an interesting phenomenon which I term here "vowel breaking". This term is, however, inadequate, as it reflects only one aspect of the phonetic process involved, whereas in fact the reverse process also takes place. In this process, we find that the back vowels *u*, *o*, *?* and *ɔ*, may interchange with a type of diphthong consisting of *w* followed by one of the front vowels *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *ɛ* or *a*. Thus: *u* interchanges with *wi*, *o* with *we*, and *?* or *ɔ* interchange with *wɛ*, *we* or *wa*.
- (ii) These changes occur to some extent interdialectally, and also as between different members of the Sotho group, but in a number of cases are found quite regularly as correlatives of other inflexional changes. Examples:
- (a) *ntfu* or *ntswi* (eagle, large hawk: generic) -*fumo* (white-faced) > feminine² -*swipana* or -*fupana*
-swa (die) > perfect -*sulɛ*, <-*swilɛ* (also used)
-tswa (come out) > perfect -*dulɛ*, <-*tswilɛ* (also used);
- (b) -*nwa* (drink) > perfect -*nole*, > -*nwelic* (also used)
-tswoma (hunt) < *-*tswema* < *-*bwema*, cf. UB
**-vwima*
mabole (fists) has singular *letswele*
< *-*lebwele*;³
- (c) *kxhɔlɛ* or *kxhwelɛ* (thong, "riem")
mokɔpa or *mokwɔpa* (black mamba)
leyole or *leywelɛ* (knee)
sexɔdi or *sexwedi* (hawk), cf. UB *-*kɔli*
sexɔtsane or *sexwɛtsane* (small type of hawk)
-kwɛbu (grey) > feminine² -*katʃwana*
-swu (white) > feminine² -*ʃana* or -*swana*
kɔpana (lamb) < *kwanana* (also used) <
kwana < *pku* (sheep)
tħħitħħwa or *tħħwarħħwa* (price)
mokħla or *mokwatla* (back, spine);
- (d) Note also *kwa*, first positional demonstrative pronoun of class 17, derived from the more typical *kɔ*, which is also used, and derivative types *kɔ*, *kwano*, *kwalɛ*.

(iii) Tucker has already drawn attention to this phenomenon (cf. § 194, p. 69), where however, he describes only the single directional change of *u*, *o*, and *?* to *wi*, *we* and *we* or *wa*. As some of the examples above indicate, the reverse process may also take place, i.e. original *wi* > *u*, *we* > *o* and *wa* or *we* > *?*. Nor is Tucker's view that these changes are due to influence of front vowels on preceding back vowels acceptable in every case.

(iv) The occurrence of this phenomenon is comparatively infrequent, and it has not been possible to find any satisfactory rules governing its occurrence. It is interesting to note that in each case, the back vowels interchange with the

¹ No such rules can be found for the relationship of the raised variants *ɛ* and *ɔ* of the open mid-vowels to the close mid-vowels *e* and *o*, nor is there any phonological evidence whatsoever to support such a relationship. Yet these vowels are accepted by Tucker and Lestrade as being related and belonging to the same phonemes. See § 44, 45 below.

² The feminine forms are actually derived by diminutive construction with the suffix *-ana*.

³ The palatalization of *b* in this case may be due to its incompatibility with following *w*, or to the palatalizing influence exerted by the class 5 prefix *le-*.

corresponding front vowels, as regards level of formation, except in the case of *ɔ* which may interchange with *wa*. These changes thus support the phonemic groupings which have been indicated before, and which are now tabulated below.

GROUPING OF TSWANA VOWELS INTO PHONEMES

§ 42. In consolidating the conclusions which have been drawn in the preceding paragraphs, we find that the vowels of Tswana are grouped phonologically into seven phonemes as follows:

1. *i*, which appears to have no variants ;
2. *e*, with variant *ɛ*;
3. *ɛ*, with variant *ɛ̄*;
4. *a*, with no significant variant;
5. *ɔ*, with variant *ɔ̄*;
6. *o*, with variant *ɔ̄*;
7. *u*, with no significant variant.

DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES IN PRONUNCIATION OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS

§ 43. (i) The changes of vowel sounds which have been discussed up to this stage are regular ones, involving a change from one member to another of the same phoneme. Some confusion seems to have been caused by the fact that the pronunciation of some words differs from one dialect to another, in particular as regards pronunciation of vowels. This appears to be particularly noticeable when the vowel is in final position, and is probably attributable to the tendency to devocalization of vowels when final, thus giving them an uncertain quality, which results in individual and dialectal variation in pronunciation. Examples¹:

- xale* or *xalɛ* or *xale* (formerly) cf. UB *-kale
ŋtʃhe or *ntʃhɛ* (ostrich) cf. UB *-pwe
məno or *məno* (teeth) cf. UB *-yîno

¹ What appears to be the more common pronunciation is listed first in each case. For purposes of standardization of written Tswana, it would probably be best to base the spellings of such words on the most frequently used pronunciation. This would naturally require a thorough investigation of the pronunciation of such words in all dialects.

dʒalo or *dʒalɔ̄* (thus, like that)

fels or *fels* (place)

boletswa or *boletʃwa* (mistletoe, birdlime made therefrom).

(ii) An interesting example is provided by the stem *-ywe* (-yve), which may be used with either enumerative or adjectival concords. The enumerative form has low final tone, and in Ngwato, final *e* or *ɛ*, e.g.:

motho moywe (one, a certain person), Tones: (— — —).

The adjectival use however, gives a high final tone, and seems regularly to end in *e*, e.g.:

motho jymoywe (another person). Tones: (— — — —).

Similar variant pronunciations for the two forms are recorded by Jones from Plaatje's speech (Rulong). My Tlhware informant, Mr. Peme, while using the same tone pattern, gave final *e* in all cases. The suggestion seems to be that the final high tone has resulted in raising the final vowel from *ɛ* to *e*, and that by analogy, *e* is now also used in the enumerative form with low tone, by some speakers. Why there should be a difference in tone on what certainly appears to be the same stem is not clear. This does indicate that the prosodic factor of tone, and perhaps stress also, should be taken into account in considering the reasons for such irregular changes or drifts in pronunciation.

(iii) Dialectal, and perhaps to some extent individual variants in pronunciation, of the type mentioned here, should not be allowed to confuse the issue regarding the phonological classification already set out. Similar variants are to be found in consonantal phonemes, and there it seems, to a greater extent. Note as simple examples: *pholʃələ*, *pholshələ*, or *pholxələ* (wild animal), and *loməta* or *lobota* (wall). One could not deduce merely from this that Tswana *f*, *h*, and *x* belong to the same phoneme, although there is to some extent a regular interchange of *f* and *h*; nor that *m* and *b* are phonemically related.

(iv) A very cursory examination of Northern and Southern Sotho reveals that similar variations in vowel pronunciation are to be found as between the three languages, e.g.:

<i>Tswana</i>	<i>S. Sotho</i>	<i>N. Sotho</i>
<i>tshimo</i>	<i>tshimo</i>	<i>tshemo</i> (ploughing field)
<i>bosixo</i>	<i>bosiu</i>	<i>bosexo</i> (night)
<i>moraxɔ</i>	<i>morao</i>	<i>moraxɔ</i> (behind)
<i>-sexa</i>	<i>-seha</i>	<i>-sexa</i> (cut).

(v) There are also instances of assimilation of *e* and *o* to *ɛ* and *ɔ* respectively. There are most noticeable in the direct relative constructions, which are introduced by the first positional demonstrative pronouns, followed by the subjective concords, both being in agreement with the antecedent. Thus :

ntsə ε-e-lomay (a dog which bites) > *ntsə ε:-lomay*
moθo jɔ:-o-rekay (a person who buys) > *moθo jɔ:-rekay*

Similar contractions are found with the mono-syllabic deficient verbs mentioned in §§ 34, 39 above, e.g.:

- e-nɛ e-reka (it was buying) > e-nɛ:-reka
- o-nɔ o-reka (thou was buying) > o-nɔ:-reka

Note also *sələ* (thing), with contracted forms *seə* and *səŋ*, and *xələ* (place), with contracted form *xəŋ*, e.g.:

zis zis (this thing); *zum zick* (this place).

These assimilations and contractions cannot be regarded as indicating any relationship between *e* and *ɛ*, or *o* and *ɔ*.

COMPARISON WITH THE FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS INVESTIGATORS

§ 44. (i) The only previous investigator who has attempted to classify the vowel phonemes of Tswana is Tucker. It must be remembered that the work done by Jones was purely phonetic recording, and he made no attempt to classify phonemes.

(ii) Tucker discusses the relationships of the mid-vowels in §§ 60 to 67 and 195 to 199. His

comments there indicate that he was well on the way to clarifying the relationships of ξ to ε and γ to σ , for which he used the symbols e , with subscript hook; ε ; o , with hook; and σ respectively, but unfortunately he failed to pursue his investigation to a satisfactory conclusion. He allowed himself to be misled (§ 60 to 62) by the fact that the class 2a noun prefix is $b\vartheta-$; that the demonstrative pronouns have typical vowels ξ , a and γ ; and that the pronominal prefixes of the quantitative pronouns $-t\vartheta h\varrho$ (all) and $-si$ (only, alone), have the vowel σ , whereas the vowels found in other noun prefixes are i , e , a , and o . From this he concluded that because these formatives are grammatically related, their vowels must be phonemically related, truly a surprising deduction. Again in § 199, Tucker states the rule whereby ε and σ cannot be followed in a succeeding syllable by i , u , e or o , yet in § 67 he lists a number of words "for which there seems to be no rule", but which exemplify this very rule.

(iii) Finally Tucker concludes that ξ and φ , for which he uses the symbols e and o , with subscript hook, belong to the same phonemes as e and o , which relationship he bases "on some rather vague phonetical and grammatical laws" (§ 51, 56) while admitting that the rules which he has deduced "do not more than cover half the field" (§ 58).

THE VOWEL SYMBOLS USED IN THE PRESENT (1937) ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 45. (i) In the present orthography of Tswana, as set out by Lestrade in "A Practical Orthography for Tswana", seven vowel symbols are used, namely i, e, ê, a, ô, o, and u. Of these, i, ê, a, ô, and u need no comment. They are used to represent the vowels phonetically transcribed in this study by *i*, *e*, *a*, *ɔ* and *u* respectively, and this is done quite consistently in the Tswana literature which has been published since 1937.

(ii) Of the e and o symbols, Lestrade states on page 141, N.B. 3, that each is used "to represent three different varieties of sound, viz. the normal, the raised, and the lowered varieties of the e and o phoneme respectively". The three varieties to

which he refers appear to imply the *e*, *ɛ*, *ɛ̄* and *o*, *ɔ*, *ɔ̄* vowels respectively, although in examples on the preceding page only two varieties of each, that is *e*, *ɛ* and *o*, *ɔ̄*, are shown. The implication that the symbols *e* and *o* be used for the *ɛ* and *ɔ̄* vowels is however borne out in the specimen text at the end of the article, in section D, where all occurrences of *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* are written *e* and *o* respectively.

(iii) Lestrade gives no reasons for regarding these three varieties as belonging to the same phoneme in each case, nor any rules for their inter-relationship. This classification is therefore presumably based on the faulty deductions made by Tucker, or is merely a transference of the old and equally faulty orthography adopted by the 1910 Conference. (Cf. § 10 above.)

(iv) As we have already shown, the vowels *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* are variants of *e* and *ɔ̄*, and should in a practical orthography be represented by the same symbols as the latter. That is, if *é* and *ô* are to be used to represent *e* and *ɔ̄*, the same symbols should be used for *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* respectively, in accordance with the principle that only one symbol is required to represent one or more phonetic varieties of the same phoneme. The present Tswana orthography is therefore incorrect in requiring the use of the symbols *e* and *o*, without the circumflex diacritic, for the raised variants of *e* and *ɔ̄*.

PSYCHOLOGICAL GROUPING OF THE *ɛ̄*, *ɛ* AND *ɔ̄*, *ɔ̄* VOWELS

§ 46. A close study of the Tswana literature published since 1937 reveals that there is a distinct feeling of uneasiness about the use of the circumflex diacritic. Thousands of examples are to be found in which this diacritic has been used on the *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* vowels, which, as required by the orthography, should be represented by *e* and *o*, without the diacritic. Books such as *Ditirafalô tsa merafe ya Batswana* and *Mekgwa le melaô ya Batswana*, edited by Schapera, provide many such examples. No published Tswana work has in fact yet been

seen, which does not provide some examples of this tendency, although they may have been subjected to editing and correction by Europeans, who being more fully conversant with the requirements of the orthography, and not having the instinctive tendency of the Native writers, have eliminated many such "errors". The most interesting example of this, however, which has yet come to my notice, is *Motšwasele II*, by L. D. Raditladi.¹ This work, as far as I am aware, was not subjected to any extensive "correcting" before publication. In this excellent little book alone, there are many hundreds of examples of *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* being represented by *é* and *ô*, with the circumflex. Raditladi's original manuscript² is even more interesting, for many of his diacritic signs seem to have been omitted by the printers. In the manuscript, the vast majority of occurrences of *ɛ̄* and *ɔ̄* are represented by *é* and *ô*. The following are a few of more than a hundred examples to be noted on the first four pages of the manuscript:

setilô ke sêo	(phon. <i>setilô ke-sêo</i>) (there is a chair)
o ilê	(phon. <i>o-ilê</i>) (she has gone)
ke nê ke re	(phon. <i>ke-nê ke-re</i>) (I was saying)
kgôsi	(phon. <i>kxhpsi</i>) (chief)
e rilê	(phon. <i>e-rilê</i>) (it happened)
kgômo	(phon. <i>kxhɔmo</i>) (head of cattle)
bogôsi jôno	(phon. <i>box̄si dʒ̄no</i>) (this kingdom)
yô o thata	(phon. <i>jɔ-o-thata</i>) (the strong one)
bošwêu-šwêu	(phon. <i>boʃw̄eu-ʃw̄eu</i>) (pure whiteness)
dinalêdi	(phon. <i>dinalêdi</i>) (stars)
kôlôi	(phon. <i>kɔl̄zi</i>) (wagon)
ngwêdi	(phon. <i>ŋw̄edi</i>) (moon)
tshwênya	(phon. <i>-tʃhweṇya</i>) (annoy, trouble)
moganêtsi	(phon. <i>moxanêtsi</i>) (adversary, disputer)
Moruakgômo	(phon. <i>môruakxhɔmo</i>) (proper name)
Leapêetšwe	(phon. <i>leap̄eetšwe</i>) (proper name).

§ 47. When asked whether he experienced any problems in teaching the writing of Tswana, Mr. Peme, headmaster of the Gore-Brown Practising School, Kimberley, replied immedi-

¹ Bantu Treasury Series, edited by C. M. Doke, No. IX, 1945.

² Which Prof. C. M. Doke has kindly permitted me to examine.

ately: "I have the greatest difficulty in persuading Tswana children *not* to use the circumflex sign on the 'middle e and o'"; i.e. \acute{e} and \acute{o} . If one may be permitted to record personal experiences here, I should like to mention that, having already acquired the spoken language, I also experienced this difficulty when learning to write Tswana, and the difficulty was only overcome after taking a course in phonetics.

§ 48. This feature of "incorrectly" using the \acute{e} and \acute{o} for the $\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\acute{\sigma}$ sounds is not confined to Tswana. Northern Sotho has the same vowel system as Tswana, and uses the same symbols in the orthography.¹ A glance at Northern Sotho grammars, dictionary and literature, reveals examples of this tendency. The class 2a noun prefix is written very frequently as $b\ddot{o}$. The phonetic value of the vowel is $\acute{\sigma}$. In Southern Sotho literature, of course, diacritics are usually omitted, and most grammars, written by Europeans, carefully distinguish all three mid-vowels, so that similar examples are not easy to find there.

§ 49. Writing in his book *Language*,² Dr. Edward Sapir says:

"The conception of the ideal phonetic system, the phonetic pattern, of a language is not as well understood by linguistic students as it should be. In this respect the unschooled recorder of language, provided he has a good ear and a genuine instinct for language, is often at a great advantage as compared with the minute phonetician, who is apt to be swamped by his mass of observations . . . I found that it was difficult or impossible to teach an Indian to make phonetic distinctions that did not correspond to 'points in the pattern of his language', however these differences might strike our objective ear, but that subtle, barely audible, phonetic differences, if only they hit the 'points in the pattern', were easily and voluntarily expressed in writing."

¹ See "The Practical Orthography of Transvaal Sotho", published in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1, March, 1930.

² Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1939, note 16, p. 58.

§ 50. The evidence indicates that the native Tswana speaker psychologically realizes $\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\acute{\sigma}$ as one unit, or one "point in the pattern" of his language. The same applies to $\acute{\vartheta}$ and $\acute{\varphi}$. It is well known to phonetic science that native speakers of a language, unless trained, are not usually aware of the existence of phonetically different members of a single phoneme in their languages. How many untrained English speakers, for example, are aware that the *l* phoneme in their language has two variants, the "clear" and the "dark" *l*? They would be aware of an incorrect pronunciation of a word, if the wrong *l* sound were used in it, but would not be able otherwise to explain it, and to them, the existence of only one *l* unit or phoneme is realized. The same applies, mutatis mutandis, in Tswana, with regard to the open mid-vowels.

§ 51. This serves as additional evidence of the fact that $\acute{\epsilon}$ and $\acute{\sigma}$ are phonemically related, as also $\acute{\vartheta}$ and $\acute{\varphi}$, and that only one symbol is necessary to represent each of these pairs in a practical orthography.

THE CORRESPONDING POSITION WITH THE CLOSE MID-VOWELS

§ 52. Although the present Tswana orthography, as set out by Lestrange, implies the use of the symbols *e* and *o* for both the normal and the raised variants of the close mid-vowels, in practice we find that there is a strong tendency to use *i* and *u* for the latter. There are probably two reasons for this:

- (a) Tswana writers, accustomed to changing the symbol to differentiate between the normal and the raised variants of the open mid-vowels, as required by the orthography, by analogy tend to do the same with the close mid-vowels, and thus use *i* for phonetic $\acute{\epsilon}$, and *u* for phonetic $\acute{\sigma}$;
- (b) The early missionaries, due to the closeness together of $\acute{\epsilon}$ and *i*, and $\acute{\sigma}$ and *u*, set a precedent by changing the vowel symbol, especially when the raised varieties of the close mid-vowels appeared under the

influence of the locative suffix *-*iy*. (Cf. Wökey, § 29, p. 37, and Crisp, § 7, p. 7.)

The result is that many writers tend to use spellings such as the following, and unfortunately, many Tswana teachers insist on their pupils adopting the same practice :

batšumi	for batšomi (hunters) < -tšoma (hunt)
baruki	for baroki (tailors) < -roka (sew)
bubi	for bobi (spider-web)
pudi	for podi (goat)
bathung	for bħathong, locative of batho (people)
molifi	for molefi (payer) < -lefa (pay)
mosinyi	for mosenyi (damager) < -senya (damage)
-fitile	for -fetile, perfect of -feta (pass)
motsing	for motseng, locative of motse (village)
setlharing	for setlhareng, locative of setlhare (tree).

Phonetic transcriptions of most of these examples are given in § 17 (i) and (ii) above. As has already been stated, this practice is contrary to the requirements of the present Tswana orthography, but is also contrary to orthographic principles generally. Furthermore, it may often result in confusion of pairs of words or stems such as those shown in § 17 (v), where, for example, the perfect stems of -betsa (beat) and -bitsa (call) would both be written -biditse, and so on. An illustration of how misleading this practice may be is afforded by the name *Tshipidi* of the second in the series of Livingstone Tswana readers, published by the London Missionary Society. The meaning and derivation of this name were a mystery to me until Mr. Moumakwa wrote it "Tshepedi",¹ when the derivation from -sepela (walk) became obvious. The practice of changing the vowel symbol in such cases is to be strongly deprecated. One might suggest further that for purposes of standardization of Tswana, the few forms such as those mentioned in § 17 (iii), e.g. mmeding (on the body) and pedung (in the heart), should be discouraged in favour of mmeleng and pelong.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

IN THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 53. The existence in Tswana of seven vowel phonemes *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u*, having been estab-

lished, consideration must now be given to their adequate representation in the practical orthography. The orthography at present provides for seven vowels represented by *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u*, and this set of vowel symbols might continue to be used, with the proviso that *ɛ* and *ɔ* now be used for *ɛ* and *ɔ*, which has not been permitted by the orthography up to the present date. If the set of vowel symbols proposed below should not prove acceptable, it is essential that the present usage be modified so as to represent the *ɛ* and *ɔ* vowels by *ɛ* and *ɔ*.

§ 54. Further investigation reveals that modification in use of the existing set of symbols will result in a doubling² of the number of diacritic signs used at present. The idea of using phonetic symbols, for example *ɛ* and *ɔ*, for the practical orthography, has no personal appeal, and would probably prove to be most unpopular with the Tswana people, and for that matter, with the Sotho group as a whole. It is therefore not considered here. The circumflex diacritic already has a local use in Afrikaans, as well as in Northern Sotho and Tswana, and it is proposed that its use be retained.

§ 55. In order to ascertain the frequency of occurrence of Tswana vowels, a test survey was made in six texts selected at random from different published works. Altogether, this survey covered over four pages of print, and showed the following percentages:

Close	<i>i</i> : 11·4 per cent <i>u</i> : 1·9 per cent	13·3 per cent.
Close-mid.	<i>e</i> : 15·9 per cent <i>o</i> : 15·4 per cent	31·3 per cent.
Open-mid.	<i>ɛ</i> : 10·6 per cent <i>ɔ</i> : 11·1 per cent	21·7 per cent.
Open	<i>a</i>	33·7 per cent.

¹ An injunction addressed to young children when teaching them to walk.

² A test survey (cf. § 55) showed that the raised variants of the open mid-vowels occur approximately as frequently as do the normal open variants.

Obviously for economy in use of diacritics, it would be wisest to use them on the close vowels *i* and *u*, which occur least frequently. We then have the following set of symbols: ī, i, e, a, o, u and ū. The advantages of this set of symbols are several:

- (a) As already mentioned, it provides economy in the use of diacritic signs;
- (b) It will eliminate the tendency noted in § 51 above, to use a different symbol for representing the raised variants of the close mid-vowels, which would now involve the use of diacritics;
- (c) It will eliminate the tendency, now established after many years of using a faulty orthography, to differentiate between the open mid-vowels and their raised variants;
- (d) It will bring Tswana into line with the system of representing the phonologically equivalent vowels in the majority of other Bantu languages, such as those of the Nguni group, Venda, Shona, and Swahili, which have five vowel systems, represented by *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, but which lack the close vowels of Tswana;
- (e) It will represent the Tswana vowels by the same symbols as those used by Meinhof and others for indicating the Ur-Bantu vowels from which they are respectively derived in the majority of cases.

For easy reference, a comparative table is set out below, showing the proposed symbols, their phonetic and Ur-Bantu equivalents, phonological equivalents in the current orthographies of the Nguni group, Venda, Shona, and Swahili, etc., as well as the symbols used in the current Tswana orthography, and the modified system which should be adopted if these proposals do not prove acceptable.

¹ It must be clearly understood that while the vowels represented by these symbols may differ phonetically from one language to another of those mentioned, they are in the vast majority of cases phonologically equivalent, and similarly correspond phonologically to the Tswana vowels with which they are equated here.

² Adapted from I. SCHAPERA, *Mekgwā le melaō ya Bathwana*, p. 1, first par.

Phonetic Symbols	Present Orth.	Modified Present Orth.	Proposed Orth.	Ur-Bantu Vowels	Nguni, etc., Phonological Equivalents ¹
i	i	i	↗	↗	—
e, ε	e	e	↑	i	i
ɛ, ɔ	ɛ, e	ɛ, e	e	e	e
a	a	a	a	a	a
ɔ, ɔ̄	ô, o	ô, ô	o	o	o
o, ɔ̄	o	o	u	u	u
u	u	u	û	û	—

§ 56. My suggestions here for the change in the system of representing vowels in Tswana is certainly not original. This idea seems to have been suggested originally by Dr. J. M. Nhlapo in his pamphlet *Nguni and Sotho* (The African Bookman, 1945). Mr. E. O. Westphal subsequently reviewed this pamphlet, and modified Nhlapo's suggestions to the form in which they are presented here. (Cf. "The Unification of Bantu Languages", *African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, March, 1946.)

§ 57. The adoption of this set of vowel symbols for Tswana will naturally require a reorientation with regard to the use of the symbols, and might initially prove unpopular, as all innovations do, with conservative elements, who tend to concern themselves with set precedents and usages established over many years, rather than with the obvious advantages to be gained by such a change. It is sincerely to be hoped however, that even these will appreciate the urgent necessity for the revision of the present Tswana orthography in this respect, and in particular, the advantages to be gained by adopting the proposals submitted here. An illustration of how these proposals will be applied in practice is afforded by the following specimen text,² written firstly in the present orthography, secondly in the proposed orthography and thirdly, in the present orthography as it would have to be modified if these proposals prove unacceptable. No changes, of course, are contemplated in the representation of the consonants.

1. Present Orthography:

Tsêô ya SeKwena mo tlholegong ya yônê ga e dirwe ke lekau jaaka go ntse gompieno, mme e ne e le selô se se simologang mo batsading ba mosimane. Fa ba bôna mosimane wa bônê a godile, a lekanye tsêô, ba tla akanya bangwe ba lesika la bônê ba ba nang le sebopêgô se se ratêgang, ke gore ba ba senang mokgwa opê o bošula o itsêgeng, e le batho ba ba dinatla mo tirong, ba ba nang le molaô o siameng mo baneng ba bônê, e se batho ba ba ratang dikgang. Fa go twe mosimane a godile, ga go buiwe ka dingwaga tsa go tsalwa ga mosimane, ka batsadi ba ne ba sa itse go tshwara dingwaga; le gônê o na a sa senkelwe mosadi ka go rupa, ka mongwe motho mosimane o na a ka rupa a ese a lekane tsêô. Mme go tla itsiwe fa a godile, rraagwê a bôna a bolaya a baya fa pele ga gagwê, a itse go tsadisa dikgomu, a bile a na le pelo ya go tshegetsâ se o se boleletšweng.

2. Proposed Orthography:

Tseo ya Sikwena mo tlholegong ya yone ga i dîrwi ki likau jaaka gu ntsi gumpienu, mmi i ne i li silo se si sîmulugang mo batsadîng ba musîmani. Fa ba bona musîmani wa bone a gu-dile, a likanyi tseo, ba tla akanya bangwe ba lisika la bone ba ba nang li sibupego se si rate-gang, ki guri ba ba sinang mukgwa upe o u bu-šûla o u itsêgeng, i li bathu ba ba dinatla mo tirong, ba ba nang li mulao o u siaming mo baneng ba bone, i si bathu ba ba ratang dikgang. Fa gu twi musîmani a gudile, ga gu bûwi ka dingwaga tsa gu tsalwa ga musîmani, ka batsadî ba ne ba sa itsi gu tshwara dingwaga; li gone u na a sa sinkelwi musadî ka gu rûpa, ka mungwe muthu musîmani u na a ka rûpa a isi a likani tseo. Mmi gu tla itsiwe fa a gudile, rraagwe a bona a bulaya a baya fa pili ga gagwe, a itsi gu tsadisa dikgomu, a bile a na li pilu ya gu tshigetsâ se u si buleletšwing.

3. Present Orthography, as modified:

Tsêô ya Sekwêna mô tlhôlégông ya yônê ga e dirwe ke lekau jaaka go ntse gompiêno, mme e né e le selô sê se simologang mô batsading ba mosimane. Fa ba bôna mosimane wa bônê a

godilê, a lekanye tsêô, ba tla akanya bangwê ba lesika la bônê ba ba nang le sebopêgô sê se ratêgang, ke gore ba ba senang mokgwa opê ô o bošula ô o itsêgeng, e le batho ba ba dinatla mô tirong, ba ba nang le molaô ô o siameng mô banêng ba bônê, e se batho ba ba ratang dikgang. Fa go twe mosimane a godilê, ga go buiwe ka dingwaga tsa go tsalwa ga mosimane, ka batsadi ba né ba sa itse go tshwara dingwaga; le gônê o na a sa senkelwe mosadi ka go rupa, ka mongwê motho mosimane o na a ka rupa a ese a lekane tsêô. Mme go tla itsiwe fa a godilê, rraagwê a bôna a bolaya a baya fa pele ga gagwê, a itse go tsadisa dikgomu, a bilê a na le pelo ya go tshegetsâ sê o se bolélêtšweng.

§ 58. It should also be noted that the flapped lateral d can be followed by the close vowels only. No confusion therefore would result if the diacritic were omitted when these vowels follow d,¹ as only the proposed î and û can be found in this position. The omission of the diacritic in this context will thus result in considerable further economy in its use, as may be seen by examination of the text above, where the circumflex sign is used thirty-five times, of which thirteen cases follow d and may be conveniently omitted.

§ 59. It is important to make it clear at this stage that while this study has concerned itself almost entirely with the position as found in Tswana the same phonological classification of vowels applies undoubtedly also to Northern and Southern Sotho. Therefore the vowel symbols proposed here for Tswana are equally applicable to the other members of the group. Moves are at present afoot for the unification of orthographies of the Sotho group, and those concerned in arranging such a unification should give serious consideration to the advantages of adopting the proposed set of vowel symbols for all of the Sotho languages.

§ 60. Obtaining official sanction for changes in orthographies takes time, and deliberations on these matters are often protracted. In the mean-

¹ Provided of course, that this symbol continues to be used in the orthography as at present.

time, however, and in conclusion, I should like to address a plea to examiners and teachers of Tswana : Do not penalize students for using the circumflex sign in representing the raised variants of the open mid-vowels. Let them write *kgôsi* (chief), *dikgômo* (cattle), *nalêdi* (star), *batho bôtlhê* (all the people), etc. They are following their natural instinct to record variants of the same phoneme by the same symbol. They are right. It is the orthography which is faulty.

THE CONJUGATION OF INCHOATIVE VERBS IN SHONA

G. FORTUNE, S.J.

THERE is a class of verb stems in Bantu languages which have as their common characteristic the idea of *becoming*. For example, the Shona verb infinitive *kuneta* means to become tired, the infinitive *kugara*, to become seated. This idea of process or becoming emerges very well when these verbs are compared with other verb stems in which the idea of action is expressed without any idea of antecedent process. For example, the infinitive *kuona* means to see, *kuenda*, to go. Examples of verbs similarly implying these ideas of becoming and being, of process and of action, could be given from many Bantu languages. The first of these two classes of verb stems I will call the class of inchoative verbs because the basic idea of the verb stem in them all is that of becoming, of tending towards the completed state of what they imply. For purposes of comparison, the other class may be called the class of non-inchoative verbs.

Inchoative verbs are sometimes called *stative* verbs. Thus Professor C. M. Doke, in the *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, has this under the entry *Stative* : "Stative verbs are those which may be used to indicate a state already achieved and still persisting. In certain Bantu languages the perfect stem of the verb is used in stative tenses. Note the following instances of stative tenses in Zulu : *bem:* (they are standing), (cp. *ukuma* : to get into a standing position), *sihlezi* (we are seated), (cp. *ukuhlala*: to get into a seated position), *zilele* (they are asleep), (cp. *ukulala*: to go to sleep). The difference between the stative and non-stative use of a verb is illustrated in the following : *ngiyalamba* (I am getting hungry), but the stative present perfect tense is *ngilambilé* (I am hungry)." ¹

Although the entry is headed : *Stative verbs*, the burden of the note is about the stative *use* of certain verbs in stative *tenses*. It is shown that there is also a non-stative use of these verbs which can otherwise enter stative tenses, i.e. be used in a tense, the connotation of which is normally past time, but in the case of these verbs actually carries the connotation of present state. Hence I am inclined to think that it would be better terminology to call these verbs *inchoative*. Inchoative verbs always bear the significance of becoming, but in the perfect tense achieve a significance of perfect state because it is implied that the becoming, the process, is over and done with, the state arrived at. Another writer who calls these verbs stative is E. Westphal.² I consider his use of the term misleading because it conveys the idea that these verbs are used exclusively in the stative or perfect tenses. This, of course, is not the case.

To illustrate these remarks I will examine the conjugation of an inchoative verb in Shona and I will contrast with it the conjugation of a non-inchoative verb. As an example of an inchoative verb I choose the infinitive *kuneta* (to become tired). The non-inchoative verb will be *kufamba* (to walk).

Shona, in common with the south-east Bantu languages, distinguishes two *conjugations* (the positive and negative). Within each conjugation, there are six *moods*, of which two are *non-finite* forms (the infinitive and the imperative), and four are *finite* (the indicative, potential, the participial forms of the indicative and potential, and the subjunctive). The finite moods are divided into at least four *tenses* (the recent and non-recent past tenses, the present and the future). This tense division applies unevenly to the moods, being found fully developed only in the case of the indicative and participial moods ; the subjunctive has a past and present tense and the potential has a past, a present, and possibly a future,

¹ Op. cit. p. 199. I have inserted the relevant infinitives which do not appear in the entry.

² "The Indicative Mood and its Classification in Southern Bantu" by E. WESTPHAL, *African Studies*, Vol. 4, December 1945, p. 189.

tense. Bantu grammarians of the south-eastern zone have distinguished further categories within the moods and tenses and which are not primarily indicative of time.¹ These categories apply also to Shona. They are the *aspects* and the *implications*. An aspect is a modal form of the verb referring to the continuousness or completeness of the action. There are three *aspects*, *indefinite* (in which nothing is said about the completeness or non-completeness, continuousness or non-continuousness of the action), *continuous* (in which the action is presented as going on over a period and not confined to one point of time) and *perfect* (in which the action is presented as complete at the point of time in mind). The relevance of this latter aspect to the inchoative verbs will be recognized. It is the perfect aspect of the inchoative verb which has been called its stative tense and even led to the whole class of inchoative verbs being called stative from this one form.

The *implications*, like the aspects, are modal forms—that is, further precisions of significance over and above those of conjugation, mood and tense and, it may be added, aspect. The implications refer to the tenure of the action in regard to previous time. In the *simple* implication nothing is said as to whether the action did, or did not, go on before the time in question, or whether it did, or did not, start from the time in question. In the *progressive* implication it is implied that the action had gone on, has gone on, or will have gone on prior to the time in mind whether this be respectively past, present or future. In the *exclusive* implication it is stated that the action, which is acknowledged to exist, did not go on, has not gone on, or will not have gone on prior to the time in mind but, on the contrary, started, starts or will start from that time.

The *positive* and *negative* conjugations are conjoined below.

I. THE NON-FINITE FORMS

(a) The infinitive

<i>kuneta</i> (to become tired)	<i>kufamba</i> (to walk)
<i>kusuneta</i> (to not become tired)	<i>kusafamba</i> (to not walk)

(b) The imperative

<i>neta</i> (get tired!)	<i>famba</i> (walk!)
<i>netayi</i> (get tired—ye!)	<i>fambayi</i> (walk—ye!)

There is no negative form of the imperative in Shona. It is possible that the forms *usafamba* (do not walk) and *musafamba* (do not walk—ye) are special prohibitory forms of the present subjunctive, the mood usually used for prohibitions. These forms occur in Karanga in addition to the more normal present subjunctive forms *usifambe*, *musifambe*.

II. THE FINITE FORMS

A. THE INDICATIVE MOOD

I. THE PRESENT TENSES

(i) The simple implication

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndinoneta</i> (I become tired)	<i>Ndinofamba</i> (I walk)
	<i>Handinete</i> (I do not become tired)	<i>Handifamba</i> (I do not walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndiri kuneta</i> (I am becoming tired)	<i>Ndiri kufamba</i> (I am walking)
	<i>Handiri kuneta</i> (I am not becoming tired)	<i>Handiri kufamba</i> (I am not walking)

¹ Cp. *Text Book of Zulu Grammar* by C. M. DOKE, p. 184.

Perfect aspect

of action

Ndava kuneta (I am in the state of getting tired) *Ndava kufamba* (I am in the state of walking)

Handava kuneta (I am not—)

Handava kufamba (I am not—)

of state

Ndaneta (I am tired)

Handaneta (I am not tired)

Ndakaneta (I am tired)

Handakaneta (I am not tired)

Ndigere (I am seated)

Handigere (I am not seated)

Obviously this series of perfect aspects calls for some comment as these are the forms of the inchoative verb which have claimed most attention and are responsible for its having been called the stative. It is fair to say that it is in these forms that inchoative verbs are most frequently found.

A. *Ndava kuneta*. The infinitive *kuva* (Nguni : *ukuba*, Sotho : *ho ba*, Venda : *u vha*) means to become. It is, therefore, itself an inchoative verb. Now in Shona, the forms used for indicating respectively the recent past and the non-recent past are :

Recent Past : Subject concord of type *nda-* + verb stem.

Non-recent Past : Subject concord of type *nda-* + *-ka-* + verb stem.

e.g. *Ndadzoka nhasi* (I returned to-day)

Ndakadzoka nesuro (I returned yesterday).

The recent past form of the verb *-va* means, then, I have recently become or I am now. When used as a deficient verb with the infinitive complement, e.g. *ndava kuneta*, *ndava kufamba*, you get a compound tense which, I consider, gives you a perfect aspect of action whether the complementary infinitive be that of an inchoative or a non-inchoative verb. The perfect aspect results from the inchoative nature of the verb *-va*. Thus *ndava kuneta* means I am in the state of getting tired, *ndava kufamba* means I am in the state of travelling, I am under way.

B. *Ndaneta*. I have pointed out that the distinction between the recent and the non-recent past tenses is made by the use of the subject concord of type *nda-* for the former, and the use of the subject concord of type *nda-* + formative *-ka-* for the latter. These formatives, viz. *nda-* and *ndaka-*, keep this distinction when used with inchoative verb stems. Thus *ndaneta* means I have got tired, I am tired—and the time of getting tired is recent past. Similarly *ndaguta* means I have got satisfied, I am replete—and the meal is just over.

But *ndakaneta* and *ndakaguta*, using formatives which refer to non-recent past time, prescind from the actual time when the getting tired or getting full took place and present the state, not so much as resultant, but as existing. Nevertheless, tiredness does not usually last for long and satiety wears off; these inchoative verb stems are usually found in the recent past form because they normally need a recent cause in time. In the case of inchoative verb stems referring to more enduring conditions and states, we naturally find the non-recent past form more commonly used. Thus *wakanaka* (he is good—he has become and is so); *wakaipa* (he is bad); *wakarurama* (he is just); *wakakora* (he is fat).

C. *Handina kuneta*. In the negative conjugation, these distinctions are maintained, *handaneta* and *handakaneta* referring respectively to states resultant on recent action or prescinding from recent action. The form *handina kuneta* does not make this distinction. This is the form usually met with in the negative indicative past, whether the conjugations be dealing with inchoative or non-inchoative verbs. E.g. *Handina kuona* means I have not seen. As can be seen, this predicate is compound in form and consists of deficient verb and complement. The deficient verb is the negative indicative present of the verb-*na* (be with). It is followed by an infinitive complement. The tense of the total predicate is past without reference to recent or non-recent time. Hence its use is an escape from unnecessary subtlety—*handina kuguta* (I am not satisfied).

It may be pointed out that this tense distinction into recent and non-recent past (or remote past), exists also in Nguni. Westphal, in the article referred to above, has confused the indicative remote past with the subjunctive past, the long concord of the former (*ngaa-*) with the shorter concord of the latter (*nga-*). Having overlooked the existence of the true indicative remote past and confusing it with the subjunctive past (called by him the narrative tense), he is able to say that the distinction recent-remote is a secondary one in Zulu on the ground that the adverbial *nyakenye* can modify both the form *ngi-hamble* (the perfect or recent past form) and the form *ngahamba* (known as the past subjunctive [cp. Doke, op. cit. p. 332], called by Westphal the narrative tense, and confused by him with the true remote past). There is no doubt that there are two past tenses in Nguni. It is relevant to this article to state that Nguni uses only its recent past form for the indicative present, perfect aspect.

- E.g. *Ndihluti* (I am replete)
- Ndihleli* (I am seated)
- Ndilele* (I am asleep).

The remote past forms refer (unlike Shona) to past state.

- E.g. *Ndaahluta* (I got full, I kept on being full)
- Ndaahlala* (I became seated, I kept on being seated)
- Ndaalala* (I went to bed, I went on sleeping).
- Cp. *Ndiya lala* (I am going to bed)
- Ndiya hluta* (I am getting full)
- Ndiya hlala* (I am becoming seated)¹

With regard to non-inchoative verbs in their past forms, the *prima facie* meaning is, of course, that of past tense. In the case of the recent past form, however, it seems that often the meaning is ambivalent.

Thus *ndauya* can mean I came or I am come—either a past indefinite or a present perfect. This is particularly the case in the participial mood where different conjunctives are used according to the meaning, either present perfect or past indefinite. Thus *kana ndauya* (when I have come); but *za ndauya* (when I came). The expression *zino ndazoenda* (now I've gone) may be used by a man who has said good-bye to the company he has been with but whose departure has been somewhat delayed; now that he is really going he makes the final remark.

D. *Ndigere*. This form exists as an indicative present perfect aspect in the case of six verbs, viz. *-mira* (become standing), *-nyarara* (become silent), *-gara* (become seated), *-rara* (go to sleep), *-vata* (go to sleep), *-zara* (become full). The perfect stems of these six inchoative verbs are based on the Nguni model and are respectively *-mire*, *-nyerere*, *-gere*, *-rere*, *-vete*, *-zere*. As already stated, this formation of the perfect aspect by inflexion within the stem is reminiscent of Nguni and Sotho. I have heard these forms in Zezuru, Karanga and Kalaṅga but not in Manyika where the forms *ndakagara*, *ndaka-nyarara*, etc. are used.

¹ These Xhosa examples were given to me by Mr. A. C. Jordan, M.A.

(ii) *The progressive implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndicaneta</i> (I still get tired) <i>Handicaneta</i> (I no longer get tired)	<i>Ndicafamba</i> (I still walk) <i>Handicafamba</i> (I no longer walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndiciri kuneta</i> (I am still getting tired) <i>Handiciri kuneta</i> (I am no longer—)	<i>Ndiciri kufamba</i> (I am still walking) <i>Handiciri kufamba</i> (I am no longer walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndicakaneta</i> (I am still tired) <i>Handicakaneta</i> (I am no longer tired) <i>Handisisina kuneta</i> (I am no longer tired)	<i>Ndicare kufamba</i> (I am still under way) <i>Handicave kufamba</i> (I am no longer—)
	<i>Ndicigere</i> (I am still seated) <i>Handicigere</i> (I am no longer seated).	

The form which I suggest is progressive implication, indefinite aspect is no longer widely used in Zezuru. Its place has been taken by the continuous form. I have not entered a perfect aspect of action under the inchoative verb column. The form would be *ndicave kuneta* (I am still in the state of getting tired). I did not find that the recent past form (e.g. *ndakaneta* or something similar) was used in this implication.

(iii) *The exclusive implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndoneta</i> (now I get tired) <i>Handisati ndoneta</i> (I do not yet get tired)	<i>Ndofamba</i> (now I walk) <i>Handisati ndofamba</i> (I do not yet walk)
Continuous aspect	— <i>Handisati ndiri kuneta</i> (I am not yet getting tired)	— <i>Handisati ndiri kufamba</i> (I am not yet walking).
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndazonēta</i> (now I am tired) <i>Handisati ndaneta</i> (I am not yet tired)	<i>Ndazova kufamba</i> (now I am under way) <i>Handisati ndava kufamba</i> (I am not yet under way).

I have not yet been able to find the positive form of the exclusive continuous. With regard to the exclusive perfects, the form given for the non-inchoative verb is the perfect aspect of action, that given for the inchoative verb is the perfect of state. In the latter instance, my informant offered alternatives for the positive form such as *ndaneta kare, zino ndaneta*, i.e. the simple perfect + an adverbial. However, he agreed to the form I have given and I think it will serve. With regard to the negative form, the deficient verb will take other complementary participials such as *ndakaneta, ndigere, ndava kuneta*, etc. such as have already been given in the other implications.

II. THE RECENT PAST TENSE

(i) *The simple implication*

Indefinite aspect	— — —	<i>Ndafamba</i> (I walked) <i>Handafamba</i> (I did not walk) <i>Handina kufamba</i> (I did not walk)
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Continuous aspect	<i>Ndayga ndiri kuneta</i>	<i>Ndayga ndiri kufamba</i>
	<i>Ndayga ndicineta</i> (I was getting tired)	<i>Ndayga ndicifamba</i> (I was walking)
	<i>Ndayga ndisiri kuneta</i>	<i>Ndayga ndisiri kufamba</i>
	<i>Ndayga ndisinganete</i> (I was not getting tired)	<i>Ndayga ndisiyafambe</i> (I was not walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndayga ndaneta</i> (I was tired)	<i>Ndayga ndava kufamba</i> (I was under way)
	<i>Ndayga ndisakaneta</i> (I was not tired)	<i>Ndayga ndisava kufamba</i> (I was not under way)
	<i>Ndayga ndakakora</i> (I was fat)	
	<i>Ndayga ndisakakora</i> (I was not fat)	
	<i>Ndayga ndigere</i> (I was seated)	
	<i>Ndayga ndisigere</i> (I was not seated).	

(ii) The progressive implication

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndayga ndicaneta</i> (I still got tired)	<i>Ndayga ndicafamba</i> (I still walked)
	<i>Ndayga ndisisanete</i> (I no longer—)	<i>Ndayga ndisisafambe</i> (I no longer walked)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndayga ndiciri kuneta</i> (I was still getting tired)	<i>Ndayga ndiciri kufamba</i> (I was still walking)
	<i>Ndayga ndicisisiri kuneta</i> (I was no longer getting tired)	<i>Ndayga ndicisisiri kufamba</i> (I was no longer walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndayga ndicakaneta</i> (I was still tired)	<i>Ndayga ndicava kufamba</i> (I was still under way)
	<i>Ndayga ndisisina kuneta</i> (I was no longer tired)	<i>Ndayga ndisisave kufamba</i> (I was no longer under way)
	<i>Ndayga ndicigere</i> (I was still seated)	
	<i>Ndayga ndisisina kugara</i> (I was no longer seated)	

(iii) The exclusive implication

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndazenge ndoneta</i> (I then became tired)	<i>Ndazenge ndofamba</i> (I then walked)
	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndoneta</i> (I did not yet become tired)	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndofamba</i> (I did not yet walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndazenge ndiri kuneta</i> (I was then becoming tired)	<i>Ndazenge ndiri kufamba</i> (I was then walking)
	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndiri kuneta</i> (I was not yet—)	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndiri kufamba</i> (I was not yet walking)
Perfect aspect of action	<i>Ndazenge ndava kuneta</i> (I was then in the state of getting tired)	<i>Ndazenge ndava kufamba</i> (I was then under way)
	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndava kuneta</i> (I was not yet in the —)	<i>Ndayga ndisati ndava kufamba</i> (I was not yet under way)

Perfect aspect of state

Ndazenge ndaneta (I was then tired)

Ndanya ndisati ndaneta (I was not yet tired) *Ndanya ndisati ndauya* (I had not yet come)

Ndazenge ndakakora (I was then fat)

Ndanya ndisati ndakakora (I was not yet fat)

Ndazenge ndigere (I was then seated)

Ndanya ndisati ndigere (I was not yet seated).

It is not necessary to set out the non-recent past forms at length since all that is required is the addition of the formative *-ka-*. I shall pass on then to the *future* forms.

III. THE FUTURE TENSE

(i) *The simple implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndicaneta</i> (I shall get tired) <i>Handicaneta</i> (I shall not get tired)	<i>Ndicafamba</i> (I shall walk) <i>Handicafamba</i> (I shall not walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndinenge ndiri kuneta</i> <i>Ndinenge ndicineta</i> (I shall be getting tired)	<i>Ndinenge ndiri kufamba</i> <i>Ndinenge ndicifamba</i> (I shall be walking)
	<i>Ndinenge ndisiri kuneta</i> <i>Ndinenge ndisinganete</i> (I shall not be getting tired)	<i>Ndinenge ndisiri kufamba</i> <i>Ndinenge ndisinganete</i> (I shall not be walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndinenge ndaneta</i> (I shall be tired) <i>Ndinenge ndisakaneta</i> (I shall not be tired)	<i>Ndinenge ndava kufamba</i> (I shall be under way) <i>Ndinenge ndisave kufamba</i> (I shall not be under way)
	<i>Ndinenge ndakakora</i> (I shall be fat) <i>Ndinenge ndisakakora</i> (I shall not be fat)	
	<i>Ndinenge ndigere</i> (I shall be seated) <i>Ndinenge ndisigere</i> (I shall not be seated).	

(ii) *The progressive implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndinenge ndicaneta</i> (I shall still get tired) <i>Ndinenge ndisanete</i> (I shall no longer get tired)	<i>Ndinenge ndicafamba</i> (I shall still walk) <i>Ndinenge ndisisafambe</i> (I shall no longer walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndinenge ndiciri kuneta</i> (I shall still be getting tired) <i>Ndinenge ndicisiri kuneta</i> (I shall no longer—)	<i>Ndinenge ndiciri kufamba</i> (I shall still be walking) <i>Ndinenge ndicisiri kufamba</i> (I shall no longer be walking)

Perfect aspect	<i>Ndinenge ndicakaneta</i> (I shall still be tired) <i>Ndinenge ndisisina kuneta</i> (I shall no longer be tired) <i>Ndinenge ndicigere</i> (I shall still be seated) <i>Ndinenge ndisisina kugara</i> (I shall no longer be seated)	<i>Ndinenge ndicava kufamba</i> (I shall still be under way) <i>Ndinenge ndisisave kufamba</i> (I shall no longer be under way)
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(iii) *The exclusive implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndicazoneta</i> (I shall then get tired) <i>Ndinenge ndisati ndoneta</i> (I shall not yet get tired)	<i>Ndicazofamba</i> (I shall then walk) <i>Ndinenge ndisati ndofamba</i> (I shall not yet walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndinezenge ndiri kuneta</i> <i>Ndinezenge ndicineta</i> (I shall then be getting tired) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndiri kuneta</i> <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndicineta</i> (I shall not yet be getting tired)	<i>Ndinezenge ndiri kufamba</i> <i>Ndinezenge ndicifamba</i> (I shall then be walking) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndiri kufamba</i> <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndicifamba</i> (I shall not yet be walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndinezenge ndaneta</i> (I shall then be tired) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndaneta</i> (I shall not yet be tired) <i>Ndinezenge ndakakora</i> (I shall then be fat) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndakakora</i> (I shall not yet be fat) <i>Ndinezenge ndigere</i> (I shall then be seated) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndigere</i> (I shall not yet be seated).	<i>Ndinezenge ndava kufamba</i> (I shall then be under way) <i>Ndinezenge ndisati ndava kufamba</i> (I shall not yet be under way)

B. THE POTENTIAL MOOD

I. THE PRESENT TENSE

(i) *The Simple Implication*

Indefinite aspect	<i>Ndinganete</i> (I can get tired) <i>Handinganete</i> (I cannot get tired)	<i>Ndingafambe</i> (I can walk) <i>Handingafambe</i> (I cannot walk)
Continuous aspect	<i>Ndingadayi ndiri kuneta</i> (I could be getting tired) <i>Ndingadayi ndisiri kuneta</i> (I could not be getting tired)	<i>Ndingadayi ndiri kufamba</i> (I could be walking) <i>Ndingadayi ndisiri kufamba</i> (I could not be walking)
Perfect aspect	<i>Ndingadayi ndaneta</i> (I could be tired) <i>Ndingadayi ndisakaneta</i> (I could not be tired)	<i>Ndingadayi ndava kufamba</i> (I could be under way) <i>Ndingadayi ndisave kufamba</i> (I could not be under way).

Only a few examples need be given of this mood. It is worth pointing out that compound tenses in this mood do not, as in Nguni, employ a deficient verb in the indicative followed by a participial form of the potential, but a deficient verb in the potential followed by a participial form of the indicative. The various tenses, implications and aspects would, then, be constructed with the aid of the participial complements which we have already noticed in the conjugation of the indicative.

C. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

I. THE PRESENT TENSE, OR PRESENT-FUTURE

- | | |
|---|--|
| (<i>kuti</i>) <i>ndinete</i> ([that] I may get tired) | (<i>kuti</i>) <i>ndifambe</i> ([that] I may walk) |
| (<i>kuti</i>) <i>ndisanete</i> ([that] I may not get tired) | (<i>kuti</i>) <i>ndisafambe</i> ([that] I may not walk). |

II. THE PAST TENSE

The following forms are called subjunctive pasts because, like the Nguni subjunctive past, they are used in consecutive narrative after indicative pasts. In some dialects, however, notably Karanga and Kalanga, these forms are used in consecutive narrative whatever be the tense in which the narration was commenced and is being conducted. That they have a connexion with the past, however, seems to be clear from the fact that they are used after *kudzimara* (to until) when past time is referred to. When present time or future time is referred to, *kudzimara* governs the present subjunctive. It must be conceded, however, that these past subjunctive forms have a third use in Shona. They form the protasis in a conditional sentence which refers to the future; e.g. *Ukauya kwandiri, ndinozokupa mari* (If you come to me, I will give you money). There is a parallel to this in Nyanja, e.g. *Cikamela cimanga . . .* (If the maize sprouts . . .)¹

The narrative use :

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Ndakamanya ndikaneta</i> (I ran and got tired) | <i>Ndakamanya ndikafamba</i> (I ran and walked) |
|---|---|

After the conjunctive *kudzimara* :

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Kudzimara ndikaneta</i> (Until I got tired) | <i>Kudzimara ndikafamba</i> (Until I walked) |
|--|--|

As a *protasis* :

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Ukaneta, uygazorore</i> (If you get tired,
you can rest) | <i>Ukfamba netsoka, uya kwandiri</i> (If you
go by foot, come to me). |
|--|--|

The inchoative verb seems to become perfect in aspect when the tense is past. Cp. this example of the narrative use of the past subjunctive after a potential: *Ndingafambe ndikaneta* (I can walk and get tired). Enough, however, has been said to show that the use of the inchoative verb extends well beyond the stative, or, as we have called it, the perfect aspect. Inchoative verbs behave in very much the same way as other verbs; throughout the conjugation they retain the radical idea of becoming and hence they have the peculiarity of employing forms which are usually indicative of past tense with a meaning of present state. This is not sufficient justification for dividing the conjugation of the verb in general into two types—stative and non-stative. There is one conjugation to which the inchoative or non-inchoative verb adapts itself.

¹ Cp. T. PRICE, M.A., *The Elements of Nyanja*, p. 190.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE YAO OF SOUTHERN NYASALAND¹

J. CLYDE MITCHELL

I. OUTLINE OF THE GENERAL CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The people with whom this paper is concerned² occupy that part of Nyasaland between the Chikala Range in the South; Mount Mangoche in the North; the Shire River to the West; and the Portuguese East African border to the East. This area is represented on the accompanying diagrammatic map. A more detailed description of the general social organization of the Yao in this area, and of their history and general cultural background is to be published shortly.³ At this point it is sufficient to say that the Yao are semi-subsistence cultivators living in village settlements ranging from a few huts to sixty or more, with an average of about twelve. This represents say a population average of about 40 per village but ranging from 15 to over 200. These village settlements are inhabited by groups of kinsmen. In general there is a matrilineal core of kinsmen of whom the village headman, who has the same name as the village, is one. In some more complex villages there are subsidiary matrilineages related to the matrilineal core agnatically

through one or other incumbent of the position of village headman.⁴ Succession to posts of authority, including that of the chief, is matrilineal. Ideally the succession should pass to the first-born son of a man's eldest sister, but this is not always followed, for the personal qualities of the successor are most important.

The total African population of the area studied is 65,000. There are one or two Indian traders and two Europeans permanently resident in the area. One European is a missionary in the north-east corner and the other an Agricultural officer in the north centre of the area. Part of the area is administered by the District Commissioner, Zomba, and part by District Commissioner, Fort Johnston, and these officers tour the districts under their jurisdiction. Occasionally other White officials and labour recruiters appear, but in the main, Whites are not often seen in this area. The one road traversing it is usually impassable for a part of the rainy season.

¹ I have been helped and stimulated in the preparation of this paper by my colleagues of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Dr. E. Colson and Mr. J. A. Barnes and by the staff of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, Prof. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Dr. M. Fortes and Dr. Max Gluckman. I am especially indebted to Dr. Max Gluckman who was Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute when I joined it, and who gave much of his time to clarifying and developing the presentation of this paper.

² Mainly Yao, Nguru and Nyanja. The proportions are given in Table 1 and their relations briefly discussed later (p. 16). In general their cultural backgrounds are similar and what I have said of the Yao is true of the others.

³ "The Outline of the Social Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland" in *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, ed. E. Colson, (London: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

⁴ The position of the village headman in the internal structure of Yao villages is more fully described in my contribution to the symposium, "The Village Headman in British Central Africa" (with M. GLUCKMAN and J. A. BARNES, *Africa*, 19/1, January 1949).

II. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE BEFORE THE WHITES CAME

It is difficult to "picture what the political organization of the Yao was like before the Whites came into the area, but informants—especially the old men—do describe the conditions that existed in the early days, and in addition to this, there are some useful reports in Duff Macdonald's book¹ which was written before European influence was strongly felt.

Informants describe the movements of the Yao into Nyasaland in terms of small family groups under the leadership of a male matrilineal relative.² These leaders bear the same names as certain of the village headmen to-day, and the present village headmen claim to be their matrilineal descendants. Among the kin-group leaders were such outstanding personalities as Kawinga, Liwonde and Nkata.³ These men were military and commercial leaders and much of their prestige derived from their prowess in trade and war, pursuits which in those days were intimately interdependent. People nowadays describe the chiefs as possessing many slaves, guns and gunpowder and having great "strength". In the history of the chiefs Nkata, Liwonde and Kawinga the pattern of conquest is similar. A group of village headmen under each chief moved into Nyasaland to settle either by treaty as Nkata who settled with a clan-relative among the indigenous Nyanja, or by direct conquest as Kawinga. After settling down they started sending out forces to subdue local chiefs until the boundary of the territory of some other powerful chief, usually another Yao, was reached. When this happened a definite territory was agreed upon by the two chiefs. Within this territory the population was increased by immigration from other areas or by slavery. Village headmen moved from a less to a more powerful chief because of the security he offered them. They were said to "seize the leg"

(*kukamula lukongolo*), i.e. to surrender to the chief in the area. Also the chief sent out expeditions to capture slaves or he purchased slaves with the cloth and beads he had exchanged for ivory at the East coast.

Within his territory certain privileges and rights were held by the chief and he had certain religious duties to perform in which the unity of the people in the territory was expressed. In general the chief had rights over any ivory either found or hunted in his territory. If a dead elephant were found the tusks belonged to the chief, though he usually rewarded the finder with cloth. If a man killed an elephant the tusk that lay on the ground belonged to the chief while the other belonged to the killer. The killer's tusk was included in the chief's caravan to the coast and its value paid in cloth to the killer when the caravan returned.

The chief was also entitled to an annual tribute of food and beer from all villages in his area, but this was used to entertain visitors who came to the court-village.

The chief's religious duties lay mainly in propitiating the spirits of his ancestors on occasions when the community at large, in contrast to the chief's own private affairs, was either threatened or directly affected. The most obvious occasion was immediately before the rains came when flour was poured on the tree shrine and the spirits of the ancestors asked for good rains. Later when the rains were over a similar sacrifice was made asking for a good harvest. Sacrifices to the ancestors were also made on two other public occasions. They were made when some calamity had occurred or was believed to be impending. A run of unsuccessful campaigns induced Cingwalugwala, a son of the Yao chief Mponda near Fort Johnston, to ask his father's father's brother to make sacri-

¹ DUFF MACDONALD, *Africana or the Heart of Heathen Africa*, (London : 1882).

² The matrilineal male leader is called *asyene mbumba* (warden of the sorority group) the village headman *asyene musi* (warden of the village) and the chief *asyene cilambo* (warden of the land). The word *asyene* could be translated as owner but see note p. 146. Important headmen and chiefs are both referred to by the term *mwenye*.

³ The honorific *Ce* is dropped from all Yao proper names mentioned in this paper.

fice to the ancestors. The other public occasion was at initiation ceremonies. A successful initiation, i.e. one in which the initiates were not beset by misfortune, depended upon the goodwill of the ancestors of the chief. Initiates therefore gathered at the chief's court-village before the initiation, when the sanction of the spirits was asked and the initiates severally blessed. After this they scattered to the bush-schools near their villages only to return when initiation was completed and the chief received them into tribal society.

The people who had submitted themselves, willingly or unwillingly, to the rule of a chief, in turn expected certain services from him. He provided them, as we saw, with mystical protection through his ancestors. On a more pragmatic plane he was able to arm and co-ordinate military forces thereby giving his people protection from attack. Within his area of rule he was a common person of final appeal in the regulation of relationships of his subjects.

In these various ways, by propitiating his ancestor's spirits on behalf of his subjects, by settling differences between subjects, by co-ordinating defence and in fact by being a unique personality in the area, the chief became the symbol of unity of his tribal group. The symbolism was clearly noticeable on the death of a chief when a short period of social disorganization called *cipinimbe* followed. The members of the chief's village were allowed to pillage and to commit rape and other criminal acts without suffering legal action. The demise of the symbol of unity was followed by a period of disunity before the appointment of a successor restored the *status quo*.

At the same time much of what has been said about the chief was true also of important village headmen. Village headmen also made sacrifices to their ancestors but only in domestic or village affairs. They too built up their prestige by slaving. Many villages in Southern Nyasaland to-day

are composed of the descendants of slave-wives of village headmen in days past. Like the village headmen the chief was considered to be in danger from contact with death. He could not attend the funeral of commoners, he could not eat the chicken which was brought to him at the announcement of the death of a commoner (for a village headmen) or subject (of a chief). Should he do so he would suffer from a disease called *ndaka*. Also village headmen, like the chief were supposed to be well versed in medicine and were regarded with some awe on this account. The chief and the village headmen were distinguished from the commoners in these ways.

But, the chief himself was a village headman. He had to administer the affairs of his family group and slaves as had other village headmen. He was involved in the struggle for power going on around him because he was not lifted above these secular struggles as was, for example, the Zulu King.¹ Duff MacDonald records for example : "In a dispute between the inhabitants of different villages, the respective headmen represent their own subjects, and the chief is appealed to. All his decisions are final. Still the chief may otherwise have less influence than a powerful headman, and we have known cases where he simply contented himself with grumbling when his headman acted contrary to his desire ; and in many criminal trials he is eclipsed by the sorcerers and pounders of poison."² Again MacDonald records how the chief tried to entice subjects away from a village headman at a trial by pointing out that the village headman had a poor character and was unsuitable to look after people.³ While there seems to have been some evidence that a number of village headmen under a chief acted jointly in the face of a common danger, but apparently with no powerful military organization. Village headmen seem to have been almost entirely autonomous in their actions, slave-raiding on their own, even raiding villages who paid tribute to the same chief as they did.

¹ See MAX GLUCKMAN, "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard ed., *African Political Systems*, (London : Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 28 *et seq.* The Zulu king had no immediate subjects but concentrated the military regiments about him so that he could use these to destroy his rivals.

² DUFF MACDONALD (1882), Vol. I, p. 155.

There is little doubt that village headmen did wax in power and finally break away to form the nucleus of a chiefdom of their own. The chief that a headman had left could do little to regain his lost subject and he had to rule not by tyranny but by tact. Duff MacDonald, for instance, records : "When a quarrel arises between the chief of the country and an important headman the latter may rebel and found a new kingdom, thus depriving the old chief perhaps of one-third of the villages in his dominion".¹ Nkanda is an example. "Nkanda of Cherasulo was at first a headmen of Kumpama's but rebelled and lives on the Southern side of that mountain an easy day's march from Blantyre."²

The leader was known, and is still known to-day, by the term *asyene cilambo*. This might be translated as "owner of the country" but the term "owner" in this context would be a mis-translation. I prefer to translate this phrase as : "The person with whom a certain area is identified".³ Hence when a man says, as the Yao do : "I come from Kawinga's", he does not mean that the land is owned by Kawinga, but that Kawinga is the most important man in that area. Among the village headmen in the area under a particular leader there were a number of trusted village headmen called *nduna*, which term I have translated as "councillors". These councillors had special duties to perform. They were in the nature of governors in outer areas and each had a number of other villages under his jurisdiction. By this I mean that these villages were supposed to take certain cases for trial to him and to approach the leader through him. The councillors were supposed to visit the village of the chief each morning and to report anything untoward. The councillors also had the important duty of advising the chief, particularly in connexion with raiding of neighbouring tribes. Councillors also arbitrated in the domestic affairs of the chief and in the all too frequent conflicts between the

chief, his sister's sons and his younger brothers.

Besides the councillors, there were a number of officials known as *mapungu* (sing. *lipungu*), which term I translate as court assessor. These officials have often been confused with the councillors, though they were a completely different set of officials. They were not necessarily village headmen though councillors were always so. Also the position of the court assessors, unlike that of the councillors, was not hereditary. Court assessors were chosen because of their wisdom and debating ability and often slaves were appointed. Councillors were chosen because of their general status in the community and once chosen tended to be succeeded by the heir, who for all intents and purposes, socially replaced his predecessor. The court assessors lived at the court of the chief and they were the correct channel of approach to him. No one could approach the chief without at first approaching a court assessor and reporting his business. The assessor's more important duty, however, was the sifting of evidence in cases in which the chief was arbitrating. The court assessor then recounted this evidence to the chief who delivered his opinion and awarded compensation.

In general the picture that we have of the political organization of the Yao before the Whites came, is that of a number of leaders of kinship groups, who by acquiring sufficient dependants and slaves were able to maintain a certain level of power. Certain groups of them were under the power of more influential leaders (the chiefs) who usually had sufficient resources to send trading caravans down to the coast, which in turn maintained his power over his neighbours. In this loose political organization the importance of being able to control dependants was cardinal and the adage "a chief without people is nothing" (*mcilambo naga nganakola wandu, nganawa mcilambo!*) sums up the situation pithily.

¹ DUFF MACDONALD (1882), Vol. I, p. 157. ² DUFF MACDONALD (1882), Vol. I, p. 32.

³ Cf. G. WAGNER, "The Political Organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo" in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard ed., *African Political System*, at p. 216: "The Logoli term *owwene* refers both to 'ownership' of objects and of persons. It differs of course, from our concept of ownership in several respects. Thus the *omwene* (owner) of a person is the one who has not only the foremost rights over him but also the foremost obligations towards him."

III. THE ENTRY OF THE WHITES

The first settlements in Nyasaland were in the Shire Highlands where a Church of Scotland Mission was built in 1876. In 1878 the African Lakes Company was founded to take over the trading activities of the Mission. As the White population grew the necessity for some non-missionary organization to regulate the relationships between Africans and the growing body of White settlers, who now included planters and traders as well as missionaries, became more and more pressing. Eventually in 1883 a British Consul was appointed. In 1891 to meet the activities of the Portuguese, a Protectorate was established and the military measures that had been proceeding against the slave traders were now intensified.

The military police used by the British authorities had arms which the Yao could not withstand, and even the most successful of Yao military groups was soon destroyed. Breech-loading rifles outshot the Yao's muzzle-loading guns and cannon were also used by the British in some actions. The British had a force of Sikhs well-trained in military manoeuvres. Even the previously impregnable Mount Cikala, so long held by Kawinga and his forces, was successfully assaulted. The superior arms of the British left an indelible impression on the Yao who had long conducted successful military campaigns, and in due course these arms came to be identified with the force of the value system of the Whites. One of the more immediate results of the success of White armaments was that certain Yao chiefs seized the initiative and used the British forces as a tool in their own political machinations. The history of the rise of Kalembo, although his country is outside the area of study of this paper, is interesting in this respect. Before the Whites came Kalembo, younger brother of Msamala, who was the father of the notorious Mponda, was an insignificant character. Just before the

British started actively to pacify the country, the sons of Mponda were at war with each other and Cingwalungwali was on the way to dominating the whole of the west of the Shire River bank above the Murchison falls. After the British had demonstrated their efficiency by a few attacks on some of Nkata's forces, Kalembo approached the British leader and complained of the war in his territory. The British forces accordingly attacked and destroyed Cingwalungwali's forces thereby leaving the way open for Kalembo to establish himself under the British wing as an important chief of the west bank of Lake Malombe. Amongst the chieftancies studied in this paper there appeared to have been no direct use of the British military forces in internal politics.¹ The Whites in this way immediately became a factor in tribal political organization. First of all some chiefs endeavoured to use the military force of the Whites directly in their tribal politics. Later on as military actions came to an end the power of the Whites continued to be tapped by chiefs and other personalities in the political structure in order to manipulate the tribal political set-up to their own advantage. In the main the power of the British Administration though still an active agent in tribal politics is now present as an abstract and invisible but nonetheless potent force. How this is done to-day I hope to be able to show by an analysis of the interaction of chiefs, African civil servants and village headmen.

As a foundation to this view of Yao politics, the detailed history of the three chieftains Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi is illuminating. Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi all belong to the same division of the Yao tribe, i.e. Macinga. There are about nine such divisions but only four are to be found in Nyasaland. The Acisi live near the Portuguese East African border in the Fort Johnston area (Katuli's area) and the

¹ There is some evidence that Mposa the son of Liwonde may have helped the British forces to subdue a neighbouring chief, Camba the son of Kawinga.

Amasininga in the Makanjila area of Fort Johnston District, i.e. to the east of the south end of the Lake near Fort Maguire. These two divisions are insignificant when compared with the other two divisions in Nyasaland. The third division is the Mangoce Yao now settled around Blantyre, while the last division, the Macinga, are settled between Fort Johnston district and Zomba. These divisions arose from a breaking up of the Yao tribe which originally occupied the territory between the Rovuma and Lujenda Rivers in what is now Portuguese East Africa. These divisions are not very significant to-day. Members of a division recognize that they are more closely related to each other than to the members of another division, but this does not appear to affect modern political life in any way.

The first Kawinga, Liwonde and Nkata¹ all belonged to the Macinga division which had settled near the tip of Lake Amaramba where it empties into the Lujenda River. From this place of origin, the groups associated with these early leaders moved into Nyasaland. In addition to belonging to the same division of the Yao tribe the three leaders mentioned also had the same clan-name, viz. *ambewe*.² The term that I have translated as clan-name is the Yao word *lukosyo*, which may also be translated as "kind" or "sort". Thus, if one asks a man the "kind" or "sort" of Yao he is, his answer may refer to the major divisions as above, i.e. Macinga or Mangoce or it may refer to the clan-name. Clan-names are inherited matrilineally, but holders of the same name are unable to trace their descent from a common ancestor. People with the same clan-names formerly did not marry but this prohibition has fallen away. For the commoners the clan-name seems to have lost most of its significance but it is carefully remembered in the royal lines and lines in which the rank of a village headman is passed down.

The present Kawinga and the present Liwonde can trace their descent matrilineally from a com-

mon ancestress. The first Kawinga and the first Liwonde were maternal brothers and to this day Kawinga and Liwonde call each other "brother". Nyambi however was a sister's son of an early leader Mkumba who was the father of Nkata, and their clan-name was *amilasi*. Nkata therefore called Nyambi "father".³ Nkata was the first to move into Nyasaland and Mkumba and Nyambi followed afterwards. Later the Nkata name was dropped and an Arabic name Zarafi, corrupted to Jalasi, was substituted. Hence the present Jalasi calls the present Nyambi "father". Kawinga and Liwonde both call Nyambi *alamu*, or brother-in-law, it is said because one of the early Nyambi's married a woman who bore the clan-name of *ambewe*.

The groups under Kawinga and Nkata entered Nyasaland and gradually expanded until Jalasi, as he became known, dominated the area around Mount Mangoce in the present Fort Johnston District, and Kawinga, safely ensconced on Mount Cikala, dominated most of the area north of this point. Jalasi, Kawinga and Liwonde were heavily defeated by British forces in 1895-6 and driven out of British Territory. Later on they were allowed to return after they had been ordered to surrender and effectively disarmed. When they had returned, the chiefs were virtually ignored and as far as can be ascertained the effect of the British government was to destroy the power of the chiefs and substitute the system of British administration for theirs. Nevertheless, it is apparent from entries in the District Book that even though it were not the official policy, the administrating officers considered it important that the chiefs should maintain some power. Thus when Kawinga III died in August 1905 the District Book records: "There were two claimants to the succession, Kumloba and Chitalo. Their claims were really very equal and H. M. Commissioner (April 1906) called in Kumloba and the most important headmen and decided the succession by their vote." The

¹ The Nyambi chieftancy developed from the Nkata line as explained below.

² The clan names of the Yao unlike those of most other Central African tribes, appear not to refer to common objects of everyday life. I could not get a translation of *ambewe* and of most other clan-names.

³ A man calls his father's sister's son *asivani* (cross-cousin) but since this cross-cousin should in due course succeed to the (man's) father's name, he may also call his cross-cousin "father".

report goes on to say that the newly elected chief Kumloba "had been mad once and still has a weak looking face and is a weak man. He has no real influence with his people and is ruled by his young men's advice. He means well but does not act on his own ideas sufficiently."¹ This comment shows that even though the Administration may have acted on this occasion for the preservation of peace, to the Yao it seemed to be approving their indigenous institution in appointing the successor. Informants say that when Kawinga IV died in 1913 his successor Chiwalo, who was the unsuccessful claimant of the report in the District Book, was able to succeed to the name against some Yao opposition, because of his influence with the administration.

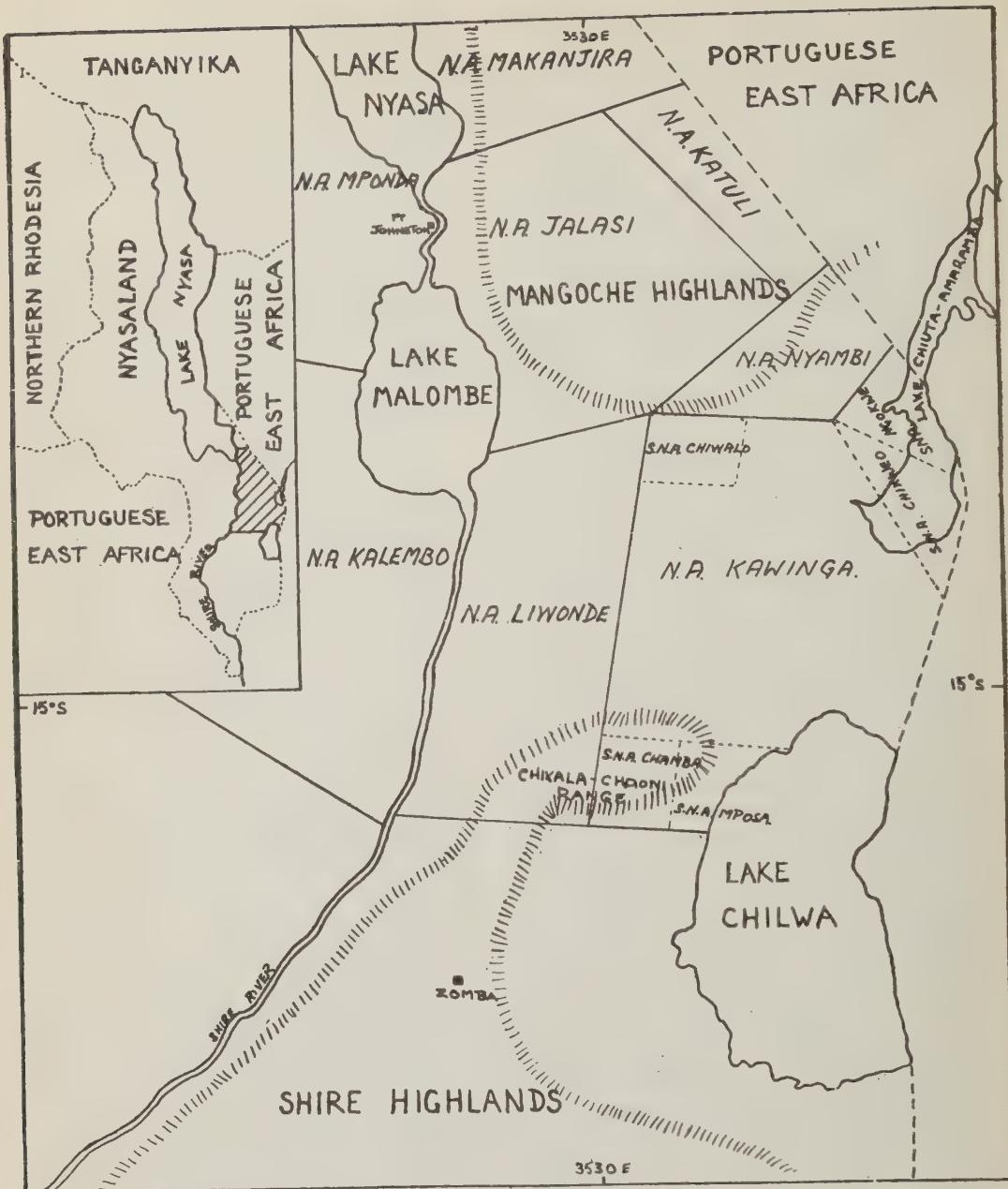
As early as 1903, only seven years after the last military action was taken against a Yao group, the position of the defeated chiefs in the new political structure was being considered. Thus the Report of the Protectorate 1903-1904 reads : "A somewhat difficult question for consideration is the extent of power which should be allowed to native chiefs. Before British influence was established a chief had unlimited powers of life and death, and was able to keep his people in order. He did so not by kindness, but through fear. At the present day, when chiefs are not allowed to use any of their old methods, the people formerly subject to them often refuse to obey or to take any notice of their directions. The tendency is for the old large communities to be broken up : for the small man to collect a surrounding of friends and go off and build new hamlets in other localities. There are very few chiefs in British Central Africa who are of great assistance to the Magistrate so far as judicial work goes. There are, of course, notable exceptions, but as a rule it is not safe to give any power to native headmen."² I feel that the view of chieftainship expressed in this report is erroneous and that the chief was never as powerful over all his subjects as the 1903 administration assumed. Also the break-up of large communities,

I feel, was not due to a break-up of the chief's power but rather to a breakdown of domestic slavery and the system of sanctions that lay behind it, thereby freeing slaves who started setting up their own homesteads. It illustrates that the social system was fundamentally disturbed by the changes wrought by British domination as early as 1903.

This process continued until the Administration saw fit in 1912 to introduce legislation to prevent further splitting up of communities and to give a certain amount of power to "paid native local authorities . . . who shall be responsible to the District Residents for the good order and administration of their villages or areas."³ Hence with the passing of the District Administration (Natives) Ordinance 1912, the Administration began to recognize the indigenous political functionaries and to absorb them into the general political machinery of the Territory. In this Ordinance, village headmen were recognized as possessing a certain amount of power over the people who lived in their villages. Amongst the village headmen one was to be recognized as a Principal Village Headman. The Ordinance made it clear that the position of the Principal Village Headman was in no way to be regarded as similar to the old tribal position of chief. Though the Ordinance further warned that persons who were formerly chiefs were not necessarily to be appointed Principal Headmen, it should be noted that many Principal Headmen were in fact such people. Thus, in 1912, the leadership position of certain headmen in the Territory, though always recognized by the Africans themselves before that date, was further officially recognized and they were given specific powers by the British. "Residents were to indicate carefully by their attitude towards, and dealings with, Principal Headmen the fact that they were officially recognized as chiefs in their respective sections and that, as such, they were entitled to the respect and obedience of their people."⁴ Nevertheless it was planned to have a structure

¹ Recorded in the District Book at the District Commissioner's Office in Zomba.

² Annual Report of the Territory 1903-4 quoted in S. S. MURRAY, *Handbook of Nyasaland*, (London: 1932), p. 128. ³ S. S. MURRAY (1932). ⁴ S. S. MURRAY (1932), p. 130.



MAP TO SHOW APPROXIMATE POSITION OF CHIEFS

This map is diagrammatic. In other words it shows the relative position of the chiefs and does not pretend to represent the boundaries faithfully.

in which the District Commissioner would be the real authority with the Principal Headmen as his subordinates, to carry out certain well-defined duties under his instructions. The Principal Headmen were expected to assist in the concentration of the huts in accordance with the new regulations concerning village headmen and the villages they controlled. Measures for the sanitation in the villages, sweeping and cleaning of villages, the construction of refuse-pits and latrines, were included in the Ordinance and the responsibility for this devolved upon the headmen. Village headmen were also expected to report crimes, abnormal illnesses and deaths, and so on. A clause specifically stated that no power to hear

and determine petty native cases was conferred upon the headmen, though the District Commissioner was supposed to seek their advice when necessary.

Therefore, from the time of conquest a pattern of superordination of the Whites and subordination of the Africans was established and the indigenous political system remained largely without official recognition until the Native Authorities Ordinance was passed in 1933. The major change wrought by this Ordinance was that Native Courts were planned and instituted by the Native Courts Ordinance of the same year. At the same time a Native Treasury was founded.

IV. THE PRESENT POSITION

In order to illustrate the structure of the political divisions with which we are dealing, I shall outline the make-up of the three districts under the Native Authorities Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi (see accompanying map).

It will be recalled that Kawinga and Liwonde trace their descent from a single ancestress three generations back from the present Kawinga and five generations back from the present Liwonde. The groups under the leadership of these two brothers Liwonde I and Kawinga I, entered Nyasaland in the early part of the nineteenth century and after various campaigns in Mount Mangoche area migrated across the Shire River at Mvera and took up their position on Kongwa hill. Here the second Kawinga died. Shortly after this the groups were displaced by Ngoni raids and they recrossed the Shire River and moved southwards to displace another Yao chief, Malemia, from Mount Cikala (near Zomba), which stronghold Kawinga held until they were displaced by the British attacks in 1895. Liwonde at first occupied the neighbouring range Caoni but soon moved down to the Shire River. He too was displaced by British attacks and fled with Ka-

winga to Portuguese East Africa. They were allowed to return later and they took up their positions in an area roughly outlined in the early part of this paper. At the same time, owing to military action by the Portuguese a certain number of refugees were crossing the border into the Lake Ciuta area of Nyasaland.

TABLE I
Demographic Composition of Political Areas¹

Sub. Area	Tot. Pop.	Admin. Vill.	Av. Pop. of Admin. Vill.	Tribal Composition			
				Yao	Nguru	Nyamja	Ngoni
N.A. Kawinga (Yao)	23,087	311	74	51	37	10	2
S.N.A. Camba (Yao)	5,119	61	84	72	20	7	1
S.N.A. Mposa (Yao)	4,411	60	74	49	19	32	—
S.N.A. Chiwalo (Yao)	2,202	19	116	80	15	5	—
S.N.A. Ngokwe (Mpotosa)	2,868	21	136	16	43	40	1
S.N.A. Chikweo (Mpotosa)	7,102	49	145	28	56	16	—
N.A. Liwonde (Yao) ²	12,716	106	120	75	20	5	—
N.A. Nyambi (Yao) ³	7,335	63 ⁴	116	73	27	—	—

¹ Abstracted from crude returns of 1945 census. District Commissioner's Offices at Zomba and Fort Johnston.

² Census data for a newly created S.N.A., *Stora*, not recorded separately.

³ Approximation only. Number of Administrative villages not ascertained.

⁴ N.A.=Native Authority ; S.N.A.=Subordinate Native Authority.

	Total Pop.	Area sq. m.	Density per sq. m.
Kawinga	44,789	682	65.5
Liwonde	12,716	396	32.0
Nyambi	7,335	140	52.5

The Table I summarizes the present demographic position in the areas. The greater part of the area under study is divided between the Native Authorities Kawinga and Liwonde who call each other "brother". Kawinga as well as being a Native Authority with jurisdiction over five subordinate native authorities, is a chief over a certain number of villages in the same way as his subordinate native authorities are. These subordinate native authorities under Kawinga are :

1. *S.N.A. Camba*, who is a matrilineal descendant of the first Kawinga's son and who still calls the present Kawinga "father", is in charge of an area along the south side of Mount Cikala;

2. *S.N.A. Mposa* is a matrilineal descendant of the son of the first Liwonde and therefore calls both Kawinga and Liwonde "father" (*atai*). His area lies near Lake Chilwa and contains a high proportion of the original Nyanja peoples of the area ;

3. *S.N.A. Ciwalo's* area adjoins that of N. A. Nyambi at the north of Kawinga's sub-district. Ciwalo was a sister's son to one of the previous Kawinga's and his mother's brother had succeeded, illegally in the opinion of some, to the name of Kawinga V (see p. 147). Ciwalo succeeded to his mother's brother's name that he had before he took the name of Kawinga V. The present Kawinga VI who was known as Mboga before he succeeded must call Ciwalo "my elder brother" (*akuluwanga*) ;

4. *S.N.A. Ngokwe* and 5. *S.N.A. Cikweo* are, as the Table shows, not Yao but Mpotola who are a people from Portuguese East Africa. The Mpotola have lost whatever language they had in the past and now speak Yao and as far as I could see follow Yao usage and custom. The areas under the jurisdiction of these S.N.A.'s lie along the north-east boundary of Kawinga's area adjoining the Portuguese territory. The Table also shows

that there is a relatively low proportion of Yao in the area whereas the Nguru are well represented. The term Nguru is applied by the Yao to any person from a certain part of Portuguese East Africa. It is indiscriminately applied to a number of tribes, though mostly to the Lomwe who form a congeries of related tribes.

Liwonde sub-district lies to the west of that of Kawinga and it has as its western boundary the Shire River. There is one S.N.A. in the area, Stora, appointed in 1940, but I could not visit him and there is no census information on this group. This new S.N.A. is a sister's son to the present Liwonde and actually stands in the direct line of succession to the name of Liwonde.

Nyambi sub-district is now a part of Fort Johnston District. It lies to the north of Kawinga's area and is small. The relationship of Nyambi to Liwonde and Kawinga has been noted above (p. 147). At the same time it was noted that Nyambi calls Jalasi "my child" (*mwanangu*). Jalasi, who had been a powerful leader, was recognized by the Administration as a superior chief in the area. The Nyambi who was living at the time resented the activities of a person who was genealogically inferior to him and therefore moved from the area he occupied then, to the present position which was under Kawinga at the time (about 1914). When the Native Authorities Ordinance was introduced Nyambi was made an N.A. independently of Kawinga. Recently (1947) the subdistrict under his jurisdiction was transferred from Zomba District Administration to Fort Johnston, largely at the request of the present Nyambi who said that he preferred to be with his own relatives (Jalasi's family).

The Table I shows that in some areas there is a considerable proportion of non-Yao under Yao chiefs. The reason for this is that the Yao came into these areas as conquerors, either eliminating the indigenous Nyanja or allowing them to remain there in a subordinate position. Later, from the turn of the century until about 1930, there was a gradual infiltration of Nguru peoples into Nyasaland from Portuguese East Africa. The presence of the different tribal

groups presents a problem to be considered but for the main purposes of this paper a brief comment is sufficient.

The Nyanja people who were allowed to remain in the areas, continued to live in their village communities in much the same way as the Yao did. In fact the Nyanja and the Nguru are so similar in culture to the Yao, that it was possible for them to fit into the Yao social structure fairly easily. For example, in Mposa's area Mbande and Mbeta are recognized by the local Yao sub-chief as important personages since they were the indigenous chiefs in the area before the Yao came in as invaders. Both, for example, have adopted the Yao practice of wearing a red band round the head to indicate rank. Both have the right to conduct the Yao indigenous initiation ceremonies. At one meeting I attended Mbande was allowed to sit in a chair while the only other person to do so was Mposa himself. This is a mark of honour since no commoner is allowed to sit in a chair in the presence of the chief.

In the same way the Nguru immigrants have come in small groups of matrilineal kin and have settled either in hamlets alone or set up small hamlets in close vicinity to kinsmen. Their headmen in turn have been absorbed into the general political structure though they have their own language and distinguishing cultural traits. Thus some Nguru initiate their boys according to their own *cidototo*, though others will allow their boys

to be initiated according to the Yao custom (*lupanda*). In general, the Nguru headmen are village headmen in the same way as the Yao are and they follow the same pattern in political behaviour.

At the moment, throughout the areas, the various tribal groups live in kinship clusters so that under one Yao administrative headman there may be two or three unrelated Yao kin-groups and possibly one or two Nguru groups living quite separately. Though the population in the area as a whole is mixed, usually the village groups are tribally homogeneous. So far little inter-marriage has taken place. I shall not here analyse this situation, though it is politically pregnant. In many ways the Nguru immigrants are more progressive than the Yao. Most Yao in this area are professed Moslems and do not attend the local schools which are Christian. However, the missions have been more successful among the Nguru and they are becoming more educated and advanced. A good proportion of the Government posts in the area is filled by Nguru for this reason. This is most significant in the context of the general situation as will become apparent in the description below. For the rest of the paper I shall consider the political structure as I see it, in terms of the social personalities in the structure, and the presence of these non-Yao groups is implicit in the rest of this analysis.

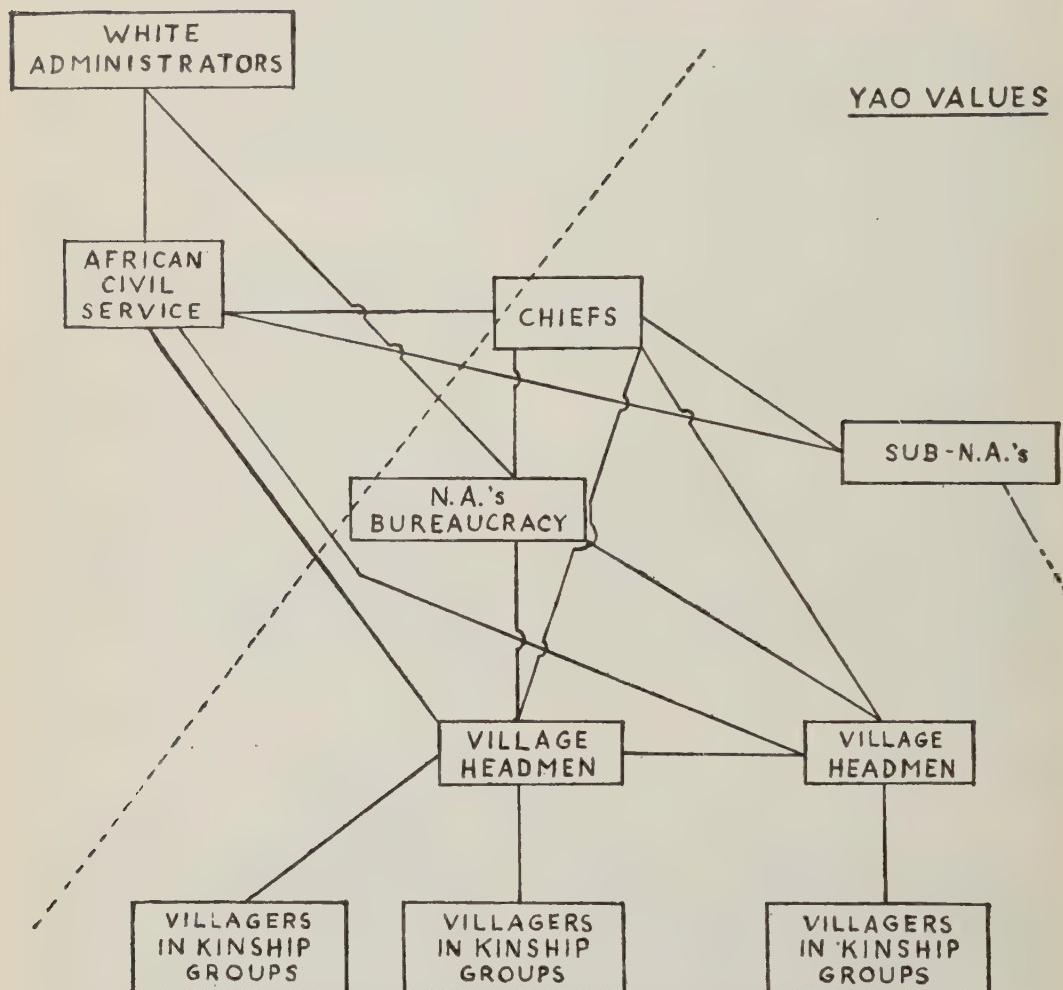
V. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The accompanying diagram is designed to summarize the main types of interaction that take place in the political structure of the three areas. Interaction between the social personalities in the political structure can be said to take place in reference to certain sets of values. One set of values is that which the Yao recognize and believe to belong to the White people. Another set of values they recognize and subscribe to as their own. A chief may interact with a village headman because he has broken a regulation which

the Administration has persuaded the chief to pass and the full significance of which lies in a system of European values. These systems of values are foreign to each other in many features. Opposition between the two groups, White and Black, must arise if their behaviour is affected by different sets of values. The Yao, for example, believe that most deaths are caused by sorcery and claim the right to take punitive measures against the sorcerers. The Whites do not believe in this and prevent punitive action against people

DIAGRAM

SUMMARY OF POLITICAL INTERACTION IN YAO AREAS

WHITE VALUES

(Only the main lines of interaction are included in this diagram.)

who are, to them, innocent. The diagram has been divided obliquely to represent these two systems or fields of values. The division of the diagram into two parts depicts a major rift in local political relationships. While some political relationships, as say between village headmen, do not directly manifest this cleavage, in most, as say the chief with his subjects, though the Whites are not present in person, they are there in the context of the interaction. This will become evident as the analysis proceeds, but at this point it is sufficient to observe that the Whites and the White system of values are an integral part of the modern Yao political organization.

In addition to this, there is a hierarchy of status roughly conforming to the placing of the social personalities in the diagram, i.e., the White Administrator is of higher status than the African Civil Service which is roughly on the same level as the chiefs, but both are on a higher status than the Native Authority's clerk and officials are. The lines represent the main direction of interaction.

1. The White Administrator and the African Civil Service

By the White Administrator I mean the District Commissioners, Agricultural Officers and other Government officials who come into contact with the African populations, particularly in the rural areas. The social distance between a White person in general and the Africans is much larger than that between, say, an African chief and his meanest subject. Social interaction on an intimate basis cannot take place between chief and Administrator mainly because their relationship is dominated by the pattern of all South African territories, where White does not interact intimately with Black. I have already stated that not many Europeans come into the area. Those Whites that do come into the area are immediately accorded the status of an Administrative Officer and are apt to be thought of as such, though they may not be so. The Yao clearly recognizes that the Labour Recruiter is a different sort of person from the Missionary and both differ from District Commissioners, but

nevertheless the type of behaviour which is normal between Labour Recruiter and African is dictated by the pattern of behaviour of African to Administrator. The Yao find it extremely difficult to separate out their attitudes to these different types of social personalities and the main reason is that they tend to categorize all White people into a general class "Whites" of whom the most common representative to them is the Administrator.

It is, however, impossible to consider the Administrator without reference to the African Civil Service. I am using this phrase to mean those Africans who are in constant and direct interaction with the Administrator. I include the clerks, interpreters, messengers, policemen, and other intermediaries between the Administrator himself and the people. Probably of major importance is the interpreter who speaks directly to the people on behalf of the Administrator. In Southern Nyasaland the official language is Nyanja and officials are expected to learn it for their official business. Some of the Yao men in the area under study can understand and speak Nyanja but some men cannot and certainly most women cannot do so. Therefore, the tendency is for the Administrators to make use of interpreters in dealings with the Yao and other peoples in the area. The Administrators do not interact directly with various social personalities but do so rather through either their own civil service or through the N.A.'s Bureaucracy who, being educated, are able to speak and understand the official language. The Administrators are in direct interaction with their own Civil Service and only in indirect interaction with the other social personalities in the political structure.

The African Civil Service stands for a set of White values and for this reason is placed in the "Whites Values" part of the diagram. The African Civil servant represents the District Commissioner or Agricultural Officer to the tribesman. The Tax Clerk, while he is collecting taxes, is part of the system of the Administrator. The Agricultural Capitao (African official) represents the Agricultural Officer to the villager when he instructs him in the building of contour ridges.

Therefore the African Civil Service has behind it the very powerful set of sanctions of the Administration, both legal and eventually military, so that it is possible for a young Agricultural Demonstrator to resist a chief and be impertinent to him. The Demonstrator acting thus knows that he has the force of the White Administration behind him. He knows that he is able to report to the Agricultural Officer if the chief refuses to carry out instructions. The African Civil Service too, are outside the reach of the chief's power of punishment save where sanctioned by law. It was possible for a certain clerk of the District Commissioner while on tour, to sleep with the divorced wife of the chief—a thing which no villager would have dared to do for fear of the wrath of the chief. The African Civil Service is also the correct channel of approach to an Administrator. Should a villager wish to see the District Commissioner he must first approach the messengers and interpreters before they are taken to the District Commissioner. The strong position of the African Civil Service in the situation is quite obvious.

The Administrator, through the mediation of his African Civil Service, interacts with the chief, the village headman, and the villager in different situations. Probably in all, the greater part of the Administrator's rule of tribal Africans is spent in interaction with the chief. This interaction is occasioned by their respective positions in the political structure. The Administrator may discuss with the chief such things as the Treasury, the general food situation, the court cases, some unsatisfactory feature of the chief's administration. The Administrator may interact with village headmen in the same sort of way over specific points of common interest. The Agricultural Officer may reprove the village headman for the existence of some mound-gardens in some of the village gardens, the District Commissioner upbraid him on the general state of disrepair in the village. Finally, the villager may approach the

District Commissioner on specific points. These points refer to some particular work of the Administration of which the District Commissioner is a representative. A villager may make enquiries about army gratuities, about tax exemption, about the administration of estates of relatives who have died in Southern Rhodesia, etc. In general we may say that the interaction between the people on one hand and the Administration on the other takes place largely in terms of an overlapping field of interest, which the tribesmen see as a part of the White system of values but to which they do not fully subscribe.

2. *The Chiefs and their Bureaucracies*

The chiefs and their bureaucracies stand in a peculiar position in the political structure. They are, as it were, the bridge between the indigenous political machinery activated by a system of indigenous values, subscribed to by chief and commoner alike, and the White Administration on the other hand. To the people, the chief and his bureaucracy represent the White Administration to them since it is through this set of institutions that the regulations are administered. The N.A.'s bureaucracy collects the poll taxes,¹ dogs, guns, canoes, etc., supervises the construction of latrines, etc., and the chief punishes the people for breaches of regulations (not tax defaulters) which to the tribesmen are part of the White Administration. At the same time the chief is their representative to the District Commissioner and when the District Commissioner speaks to the chief he is in effect speaking to the people. From the point of view of the Administration he is in exactly the same interjacent position : he is both their representative to the people and the people's representative to the Administration. Accordingly the oblique line in the diagram passes through the rectangles marked 'chief' and N.A.'s Bureaucracy'.

The chief has lost many of the attributes of status that he had in the early days. No longer

¹ Actually the poll taxes are collected by a Tax clerk who is stationed at the N. A. court-house but is renumerated from the Central Treasury. He is therefore really a member of the African Civil Service but since he lives at the chief's court and interacts with the chief, is looked upon by the villagers as part of the N.A.'s bureaucracy. I include him in this paper as part of the chief's staff.

does he monopolize the trade to the coast. Today the goods are brought in by Indian traders and are bought for cash by the African tobacco growers and the returned labour migrants. He can no longer use his slaves to increase his wealth by capturing yet other slaves. Nowadays his salary is insufficient for his own requirements and he can no longer make the gifts that he used to, to the village headmen and councillors. Councillors (i.e. the *nduna* not necessarily officially recognized by the Administration) complain that though they are not paid they nevertheless have to do much of the work that the District Commissioner expects the chief to do. The chief himself is generally too poor to pay them though some do in fact privately remunerate certain of their unrecognized councillors. The chief is still expected to give a burial cloth when an important headman dies, and to make a gift to a headman when he succeeds to a name, but his tribute of food and ivory has ceased. The people look upon the taxes they pay to the Administration and the licences that are paid to the chief's court as substitute for the chief's tribute. One informant explained that no longer is it necessary to send a pot of beer to the chief when beer is brewed, because nowadays a sixpenny licence must be taken out from the court for each brew for sale. He looked upon the licence (designed by the Administration as a measure to counter excessive brewing and paid into the Native Treasury and not to the chief) as a modern substitute.

Nevertheless, it appears that the chiefs do manage to live at a higher standard than most of their subjects. They usually appear to be dressed more finely and seem to have larger wardrobes. Most have brick dwelling houses and rather more furniture than the average commoner. Nearly all have shot-guns and some have rifles. This is largely possible because the salaries are regularly paid even if they are low, and because many of the former obligations have fallen away. No longer do the chiefs entertain on so lavish a scale.

¹ A "garettta" was a one-wheeled conveyance in which an Administrator or chief was wheeled around while on tours. Nowadays garettas are hardly ever used and the men who used to be employed to push them are used mainly as messengers.

The chiefs are also able more successfully to press their claims to certain gifts from visiting Europeans, particularly in articles which are difficult for Africans to obtain—for example, cartridges. One chief uses his rifle to shoot game and the meat is peddled round the villages by one of his servants. Some are also able to make use of the services of remand prisoners and other villagers in their gardens, thus growing more food and sometimes more of cash crops as tobacco. Other chiefs are able to use their salaries as capital and employ labourers to cultivate tobacco and other cash crops. A few returned labour migrants make small gift payments to the chief.

The main duty of the chief is the arbitration in disputes. The Native Courts Ordinance established two classes of native courts, called respectively A and B courts, which differ in their powers. Under the same Ordinance court assessors who are remunerated from Native Treasury funds, were appointed.

The Native Authority's bureaucracy is made up of a large assortment of functionaries and officials, including in the largest court, (Kawinga's), 6 court assessors, 1 court clerk, 1 assistant court clerk, 1 community worker, 1 forest guard, 1 agricultural demonstrator, 1 sanitary inspector, 9 court messengers, 2 caretakers, 4 garettta men,¹ 1 market clerk, 1 market sweeper. Other Native Authorities also have well inspectors. These people are remunerated from the Native Treasury and the most highly paid is usually the court clerk. I do not intend to deal in detail with the duties of each but I shall deal with the more important of them and make some general remarks about their position in the structure.

The court assessors are supposed to assist in arbitrating cases. Under the old system there were both councillors, *nduna*, and court assessors, *mapungu*, (see p. 144). There is not sufficient provision for the remuneration of both councillors and court assessors in the modern system and there has been a general alteration in their functions. Some of the old councillors are no longer

paid by the chief but still advise him, and retain much of the prestige due to their rank, which is inherited. Others have been incorporated as court assessors though they may not actually take part in the duties. Some now combine both sets of duties and function both as councillors and court assessors. Some of the duties of both sets of officials, however, have been taken over by the court clerk and other court functionaries. Although the position of court assessor was part of the old tribal structure, modern court assessors see themselves as occupying a position in a structure largely of White fashioning. I once heard a court assessor when conducting an enquiry into a case of adultery, cut short the prolixity of a witness saying : "None of these long stories. We are conducting this case according to the custom of the Whites."

More illuminating still is the position that the court clerks occupy in the modern structure. They are differentiated from the vast majority of the population because they are literate. All of them have been educated, usually in a mission school. A high proportion of them are Nguru because more Nguru are Christian (hence educated) than Yao (see p. 151). Because he can read and write, the chief court clerk is the medium through which the chief expresses himself in writing and the medium through which he gets written information from the Administrators and others. The court clerk is therefore in a unique position of knowing all the business that comes into the chief's hand by letter. He, of course, must also write the replies so that he has a very good knowledge of what is going on in the territory. In addition, because of his education and knowledge of the ways of the White people the court clerk often makes a better councillor than the uneducated and naive traditional councillor does. Therefore in certain matters the court clerk, rather than the councillor, is the chief's most important adviser.

The various other officials have different functions to perform, frequently of a semi-technical nature. There are sanitary inspectors, well inspectors, etc. The court sergeant who is present at the cases now performs many of the

duties which the court assessor used to in past days. The correct channel of approach to the chief now is through the court sergeant.

In most situations where the chief's orders are to be carried out, the various members of his bureaucracy execute them. For example, when the chief wants some duty to be performed by the villagers, it is the court sergeant or messenger who sees to it. The messengers carry out the instructions and wishes of the chief to all parts of his territory. To the villagers, therefore, the N.A.'s bureaucracy represent the chief when acting as his agent but they also represent the White Administration because much of their interaction with the villagers is in terms of some regulations based upon White values. The court clerk who apprehends a villager and charges him with being in possession of an unlicensed dog is acting, in the eyes of the villager, not so much as an agent of the chief, but rather as an agent of the chief representing the Administration. The sanitary inspector may explain to the man who has been charged with having no latrine, "It is the law that you should have one", and by this he means the White law.

3. The Position of the Subordinate Native Authorities

I have not yet considered the position of the S.N.A.'s in the structure. In the diagram they are represented as a separate interactional system. The reason why they have been represented thus, is because the S.N.A.'s regard themselves as autonomous units and in no way an integral part of the main interactional system under a chief. Each S.N.A. has his own sub-court and a small bureaucracy of his own. He sets up a replica of the situation under the chief. Each S.N.A. has the insignia of rank that the chief has : he is given the same greeting ; wears the red band around his head ; holds initiation ceremonies, etc. Each S.N.A. has the duty of making a sacrifice to the ancestors before and after the rains. A recent theft of a sacrificial cloth hung on a tree-shrine in a S.N.A.'s area was held to endanger the rainfall in that area alone. The chief in the area makes use of his position in the structure in relation to the Administration to bring pressure

to bear on his sub-chiefs. For example, when one sub-chief mishandled a prisoner, the chief did not feel himself to be in a position to reprimand the sub-chief. He reported the matter to the District Commissioner. Another had expressed displeasure at the conviviality of the sub-chief with an Nguru man. He had given instructions that the one Nguru with whom the sub-chief was on intimate terms, should be beaten if found together with the sub-chief again. The sub-chief merely countermanded the ruling and nothing further was done about it. When one of the chiefs was to be given a medal by the Governor it was only with great difficulty that the sub-chiefs could be induced to attend the ceremony. One of the sub-chiefs said : "Why should my feet get sore walking to his capital ? He's getting the medal, not me". The Native Authority of his own account has not sufficient authority to reprimand a S.N.A. and where this must be done he must call in the District Commissioner to do it.

4. The Village Headmen and the Villagers

A District Commissioner once referred to the village headman as "the lance-corporal of the political system—doing all the work and getting all the kicks". This description is an illuminating one. The population in the area is distributed in hamlets of mainly matrilineal kinsmen usually composed of a man and his female matrilineal relatives and spouses (see p. 142). The male leader of this group I call a village headman but this should not be confused with the social personality here called the Administrative village headman. For purposes of the Administration, villages and hamlets are grouped under officially recognized and remunerated village headmen. Administrative village headmen usually have some local standing. Some have the right to wear the red band which distinguishes rank, some have the right to conduct initiation ceremonies for both boys and girls, they are all given the greeting correct for people of some rank, they are referred to by a term which signifies both the chief and the village headman (*mwenye*).

The administrative village headman has certain duties which he must perform in respect of his

Administrative village. The N.A.'s bureaucracy considers him responsible for the collection of the taxes though, of course, the legal responsibility rests on the tax-payer. The village headman is generally responsible for the various regulations that the villagers must carry out. In practice the Administrative village headman may be in charge of a single kin-group and thus have a certain amount of control over the villagers because of his kinship with them. More frequently, however, the Administrative village headman is also in charge of a number of other hamlets, sometimes completely unrelated to him but who happen to have been assigned to his jurisdiction. He then delegates the responsibilities to the headmen in charge of the hamlets.

The Yao judge rank among the village headmen largely in terms of historical antecedents and by the number of dependants that a village headman has. While a certain village headman may be ranked fairly highly in the status system because his ancestors were closely associated with the ancestors of the chief, he may not now have many villagers around him. A newcomer to the area however, can only become notable by acquiring sufficient followers to make him a man of considerable power. Associated with rank are the various insignia that I have mentioned, i.e. the right to hold initiation ceremonies, the right to wear a red band round the head, etc. The competition among village headmen therefore, is phrased largely in terms of competition for these particular insignia of rank. They strive to be recognized as Administrative village headmen—"to have a book" as they say, since this at once means that they will receive a remuneration for work which they would have to do anyway, and it also means that they would be recognized as village headmen in the eyes of the White Administration. Village headmen also compete with each other to have the right to hold initiation ceremonies and use the threat to move out of the chief's area to bring pressure to bear on him to force him to grant the right.

While domestic quarrels are usually settled by the kin-group leaders and by the husband's and wife's parties conferring together, differences out-

side the kin-group are usually settled by the arbitration of a local village headman or the chief. What decides whether a case is tried by a village headman or a chief seems to depend largely on the seriousness of the case and hence the amount of compensation that it involves. A quarrel between a village headman and his heir for example was settled by a local village headman, the compensation in this case being a matter of 2/- and a pot of beer. More serious cases are taken to the chief for arbitration and whether the cases are then tried in the court or not depends on the type of case. Certain cases are known to conflict with the system of values of the Whites. They are tried by the same court assessors and arbitrated in by the same chief who preside in the context of the Native Courts Ordinance, but they are handled by an entirely different procedure. Thus, a case involving the accusation of sorcery or the breach of a taboo leading to death and compensation claims is arbitrated on by the chief acting in terms of the indigenous value system. These cases take place outside the court-house, usually at the chief's hut, and are not recorded as a court case at all. The chief awards compensation in the same way but it is not recorded as in ordinary court cases.

Cases which are known not to conflict with White values are tried in the court-house if compensation of some value is involved. If we exclude from consideration the cases following a breach of the N.A.'s regulations we find that the recorded court cases are almost entirely about compensation for adultery, petty theft and assaults. Here the chief and court assessor function as social personalities acting in reference to a set

of White values which coincide with their own.

Informants say that the position of the village headman in contrast with that of the chief is getting progressively weaker. They maintain that cases once tried by the village headman are now taken to the chief's court. Whether this is true or not is difficult to ascertain. The fact that there is some sanction on the guilty party to settle the compensation if he is tried in the chief's court, probably pays a part. The compensation awarded is recorded in the Court Case book and the chief is empowered to keep a man under remand until "it is paid. The chief sometimes supports the village headman against recalcitrant subjects. A man once refused to pay a compensation awarded against him by a village headman. The village headman referred the case to the chief who said to the man : "As you have disobeyed the order of the village headman it means that you have insulted me, the District Commissioner and the Governor". But in general there is a tendency for the central authority to be strengthened and the chief emphasizes his relationships to the White Administration in order to consolidate his position of dominance over his headmen. At a succession ceremony of a village headman the chief who had supported an unpopular candidate said : "This man has been chosen by me and the Governor agrees with me". Clearly in this insecure situation the chief saw himself against his subjects, and as part of the White Administration. He uses his power in this political situation to establish a dominance over the headmen, that he could never have established before the White men came (see p. 144).

VI. GENERAL SUMMARY

I have tried to describe the political structure of the Yao in Liwonde, Kawinga and Nyambi sub-areas in terms of the interaction of social personalities in a structure briefly summarized in the diagram. The aspect of the social personality perceivable in set situations of social interaction

depends on the field of values in which the interaction is taking place. To illustrate this with a simple example, when the court messenger exacted a levy of 1d. from each garden-owner in the area where the sacrificial cloth had been stolen from the tree-shrine, they saw in him a

representative of the chief, acting as he was in terms of a system of values indigenous to the Yao. If during the same trip he informed the villagers that the village roads should be cleaned, to the people he would appear as a representative of the chief who is representative of the Administrator and is acting according to a value held by the Whites and embodied in a regulation governing the cleaning of village roads. Two sets of values intermingle in daily life and social personalities are seen first in this guise and then in that depending on the particular interactional situation. Thus the chief, when he is addressing villagers and village headmen, sees himself opposed to them and shows himself to the people as a representative of the White system of values and emphasizes his bonds with the District Commissioner and the Governor. Talking to the Agricultural Officer he sees himself opposed to the White system of values and opposes contour ridging, saying that unlike the traditional system of agriculture it encourages white ants in the gardens.

At the same time the White value system, symbolized to the Africans mainly by the Administration, is becoming an integrating force in their life. The otherness of the White system of values emphasizes the unity of their own. Formerly hostile, chiefs are now living at peace under the

Administration. Africans are becoming increasingly aware of their position in the British Empire and in the world in general. The trips of labour migrants to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia have emphasized this since Yao from formerly hostile groups, Nguru and Nyanja alike, were all classified as "Nyasa boys" and in the situation of being amongst vastly different tribes at these labour centres they have begun to see themselves as a united people. Also during the war there was a high recruitment rate in Nyasaland and since the 1st and 2nd KAR are recruited from Nyasaland, this heightened the feeling of belonging to a new political entity—Nyasaland. The new feeling of unity of Nyasaland people is felt most strongly by the younger people who have been out to work and who have been in the army. This feeling is also strong among the more educated who now read African newspapers from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in which columns are set aside for "Nyasaland News". Symptomatic of this is the development of associations of a semi-political nature especially among the more educated people—the clerks and the teachers—organizations which cut right across the old tribal barriers, and which are serving to integrate the whole of the African population into a united political body.

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3. S. S. MURRAY, *Handbook of Nyasaland*, (London : Crown Agents 1932).

EDITORIAL NOTES AND CORRESPONDENCE

We would draw attention of all subscribers to the change in subscription rates, which the soaring prices in printing have forced us to make. All renewals and all new subscriptions will be at the rate of 17s. 6d. per annum, a price far below that of other comparable journals to-day. Attention, too, is drawn to the subscription rate offered for two-year advance payment.

* * *

We are glad to have associated as a further Joint Editor, Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand. For a considerable time Dr. Jeffreys has taken a practical interest in the production of our journal, and we value his co-operation.

* * *

Attention is drawn to the following corrections which should be made to W. Bourquin's article "The Use of the Demonstrative pronoun in Xhosa", which appeared in *African Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, of March 1949 :

- p. 11, col. 2, l. 31, *umlwambo* to read *umlambo*.
- p. 17, col. 2, l. 2, *isimphango totead ixiphango*.
- p. 17, col. 2, l. 28, *zibumvo* to read *zibomvu*.
- p. 19, col. 1, l. 14. *iyilelo* to read *iyileyo*.

* * *

London,
20. 6. 1949.

The Editor,
AFRICAN STUDIES.

Dear Sir,

May I draw your attention to three important articles on Race Relations in South Africa which appear in the July issue of the *International*

Review of Missions. They afford the opportunity of viewing this vital question, now at a critical stage, through South African eyes. The writers are men with first-hand knowledge and long experience of a situation which is being watched by an increasing number of thoughtful people in many countries. They approach their tasks from different stand-points.

Dr. G. B. A. Gerdener, who is professor of Practical Theology and Missions in the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, Stellenbosch, and who represented that Church at the Amsterdam Assembly, of the World Council of Churches, is an advocate of the Governments' Apartheid policy.

The Rev. Seth M. Mokitimi, Vice-Principal of the Healdtown Institution, the largest African teacher training centre in the Union, offers a well-reasoned argument under the title "Apartheid and the Christian Spirit".

The Rev. A. W. Blaxall, member of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of South Africa, whose work for blind and deaf Africans of the Rand has brought him into close touch with the living conditions of the detribalized Bantu of the urban areas, writes under the title "South Africa Belongs to Us".

We are,

Yours truly,

NORMAN GOODALL,

MARGARET SINCLAIR,

Editors,

The International Review of Missions.

P.S. Copies of the July number of the Review may be ordered from Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London S. W. 1. at 3s. 6d. each, by post 3s. 8d.

* * *

Port Shepstone,
22. 7. 1949.

Messrs. The Witwatersrand University Press,
Johannesburg.

Dear Sirs,

In *The South Eastern Bantu* by J. Henderson
Soga the Christian names of the Goss brothers

are wrongly given as "William" and "Michael"—
the correct names are "James Andrew" and "Mi-
chael William", (page 263, lines 14, 21 and 23).

I should be grateful if, when the opportunity
arises, the necessary corrections could be made.

Yours very truly,

James A. Goss.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Bantu Word Division. MALCOLM GUTHRIE, PH.D.
(International African Institute, Memorandum
XXII, Oxford University Press, 1948.) 3/- net.

The two schools of thought on Bantu Word Division, viz. the Conjunctivists and the Disjunctivists still exist. One would have expected that by this time the scientific exposition of the problem by Prof. C. M. Doke¹ and others would have led to a general conversion. The disjunctivists, however, have entrenched themselves in certain regions by having the support of educational institutions, literature in the disjunctive method of writing, etc. As the Bantu become more interested in the scientific structure of their own languages, the disjunctive approach must disappear, because it is based on an analytic outlook which is foreign to language as a living *Gestalt*.

Dr. Guthrie in this memorandum on Bantu Word Division attempts to arrive at the structure of the Bantu word by a rationalistic review of the Bantu sentence. His conclusions, especially when applied to Bemba, are interesting and convincing as far as they go. Unfortunately, because Dr. Guthrie did not define his approach at the outset, the reader is at a loss as to how the parts of the puzzle fit the rationalistic whole. Firstly, he does not distinguish between speech and language, and now discusses one and then the other. One would have expected a treatment of the spoken sentence as the expression of an idea; but we find that he gets entangled with hyphens, dots, etc., because he neglects to define the word as a psychological unit from the outset.

Surely all the reasons he advances for dividing up the sentence are the result of a way of thinking of the speakers of the language. The structural laws which he illustrates so well are—just as Prof. Doke's boundary sign (penultimate stress)—the result and not the cause of word unity.

¹ Prof. C. M. DOKE: (a) *The Problem of word-Division in Bantu*, Dept. of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia, 1929. (b) "Conjunctive Writing for Bantu Languages", *Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal*, June, 1944.

For a mentalistic approach one must know the genius of the language thoroughly, and only when one has full comprehension thereof, can the sentence structure be understood.

F. Hintze in his article : "Bemerkungen zur Methodik phonologischer Untersuchungen der Wordstruktur," (*Studia Linguistica* 1948, No. 1) says we should accept a structure of three different levels for language : (a) the syntactical level with the sentence as unit ; (b) the semantic level with the word as unit ; and (c) the phonematic level with the phoneme as unit. These levels are interrelated, as the treatment by Dr. Guthrie of the syntactical and phonematic levels (the latter a brief discussion) clearly shows. Unfortunately his treatment of the semantic level has been grossly neglected. After all, as Van Wyk pointed out in his *Phonologie*, a word is a semanteme that is fitted with morphematic means for syntactical use.

Dr. Guthrie, in his general treatment, discusses the grammar of movement and shows how substitution, interruption and transposition may indicate the boundaries of words. His main discussion is however of the grammar of relationships, the functional value of the parts of the sentence. It is to be regretted that he makes use of terms like syllables, words and sentences without defining them. Why, for example, does he divide up the words into syllables in the way he does ?

One gets the idea that Dr. Guthrie in his treatment is still dominated by the written word complex. The Bantu speaker, however, knows which separate words make up his complete thoughts. These thoughts are structural units just as the words are. The value of Dr. Guthrie's paper is that he has managed to let us get an insight into the structural laws governing the sense-group or sentence. Those who still advocate the disjunctive method of writing would do well to study this memorandum. P. DE V. PIENAAR.

Zulu Proverbs and Popular Sayings. Collected by J. STUART, ed. by D. MCK. Malcolm. (Griggs & Co., Durban : 1949.) 93 pp., 6/6. This is the first considerable collection of Zulu proverbs that has been published. R. G. Dunning included 264 in his little publication, but the present collection bring together somewhat over 600, many of which had not previously been recorded. The arrangement is roughly alphabetical, though it is a pity that alphabetical order has not been more consistently followed. In some cases variant readings are gathered under one main form, in others they are separately entered, sometimes far apart. Duplication of entry occurs frequently, as for instance *Ubude kabuphangwa* on pages 21 and 23; *Indab' inendodana uysie kanacala* on pages 23 and 24; and *Imbila yaswela umsila*, on pages 18 and 22. The three entries under *uCilo* should have been treated together. Improvement in such matters can easily be made in a second edition. This collection will certainly prove of value to all students of Zulu ; and, as the Editor writes in his introduction, it is to be hoped that this will inspire others to collect and preserve similar sayings, so that an even more representative collection may later be published, possibly with more detailed comment on occurrence and significance.

C. M. D.

A Grammar of Luvale. A. E. HORTON. (Witwatersrand University Press, 1949.) viii + 221 pp., map. 15/-.

Although the first to appear in print, this is No. II of a new and welcome series entitled *Bantu Grammatical Archives*, edited by C. M. Doke. The first volume, we understand, has unfortunately been delayed in the press.

Luvale, also known as Lwena, is spoken by about 500,000 people in the area of the junction of Angola, Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. In this study, the author has abandoned the disjunctive word division and English grammatical terminology of his earlier work *A Grammar of the Lwena Language* (1941), in favour of conjunctive writing and the grammatical classification and terminology employed by the South African school of Bantuists.

The first chapter is devoted to phonology. Grammatical structure is treated in chapters II to XII, concluded with consolidated notes in chapter XIII on miscellaneous grammatical phenomena such as numerals, interrogatives, relative clause formation, kinship terminology and foreign acquisitions. Chapters XIV to XVII deal with syntax of the major parts of speech, and the final chapter, XVIII, contains useful notes on idiomatic usages. A full and detailed index completes the work.

In a brief review, only a few of the interesting features of Luvale can be mentioned. Like most other Bantu languages, it has five vowel phonemes, but with two members to each of the front and back mid-vowel phonemes. The consonant system illustrated in §14 is comparatively simple, although the author's phonetic description is questionable in some cases. For example, the distinction between Post-alveolar and Palatal-alveolar consonants, if it exists at all, is unnecessary to a phonological description, and these sounds, probably including also the Palatals, would be better listed under one heading as Palato-alveolar or Prepalatal. Under vowels, the Luvale *e* presumably resembles the *e* of "senate", not the *a*, as stated in §2c. It is interesting to note that the nasal prefixes of class V (Bantu classes 9, 10), have disappeared in most cases, and the common phenomenon of nasal influence by these prefixes is no longer active. Both vowel length and tone are semantically significant, and these, as well as stress, are dealt with fairly fully. Unfortunately none of these prosodic characteristics is consistently marked, even in the relevant sections, e.g. *Kalunga* (God) has four different renderings in §§3b, 25c, 30 and 31. We are not told how tones, for example, of unmarked syllables may be deduced, nor is any system apparent.

Two striking features of Luvale, although mentioned in previous publications, are fully explained here. These are the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, and that between direct possessives, indicating ownership, and descriptive possessives, denoting some characteristic or quality. Nouns are arranged in ten classes, of which class I (*mu-*, *va-*) is personal;

VI (*lu-*, *ji-*) is miscellaneous inanimate; VIII (*u-*, *ma-* or *mau-*), mainly abstract; IX (*ku-*), infinitive; and X (*ha-*, *ku-*, *mu-*) is locative. Each of the remaining five classes is divided into at least two sections, animate and inanimate. The latter employ the concords and pronouns of their respective classes in the usual way; but animate nouns, while retaining their characteristic singular and plural class prefixes, demand the concords and pronominal forms of class I, an exception being provided in the case of possessive concords. This distinction is further observed particularly in locative construction, where inanimate substantives prefix *ha-*, *ku-* or *mu-*, whereas animates normally require a copulative formation with the verb *-li*, e.g. *kuzuvo* (to the house), but *kuli mutu* (to the person).

Direct possessives qualifying inanimate nouns and singular animate nouns, and all descriptive possessives, require the possessive concords of the respective classes to which they refer. But direct possessives referring to nouns of class I plural use the concord derived from class V plural (*ji-*, Bantu class 10), and plural animate nouns of other classes follow suit, thus reasserting their demand for class I concords. A further peculiarity in this rather bewildering interchange of concords is that the infinitive class (*ku-*) exclusively uses concords and pronominal forms relating to class IV singular (*ci-*, Bantu class 7).

Five types of pronoun are classified, namely absolute, emphatic, demonstrative, qualificative and relative. The "relative pronoun" however, is no more than the relative qualificative pronoun, and the use of this term, and its treatment apart from other qualificative pronouns, is unjustified and misleading. Luvale has the usual four qualificatives, but it is unusual to find adjectival and enumerative concords for 1st and 2nd persons, and from the evidence, one is not entirely convinced that these are true qualificative concords. They appear rather to be copulative formations with 1st and 2nd person subjects.

Concerning the verb, we note that the passive is a mere remnant formation, now found with less than a score of verbs. The verb conjugation is very simple, although comparatively rich in

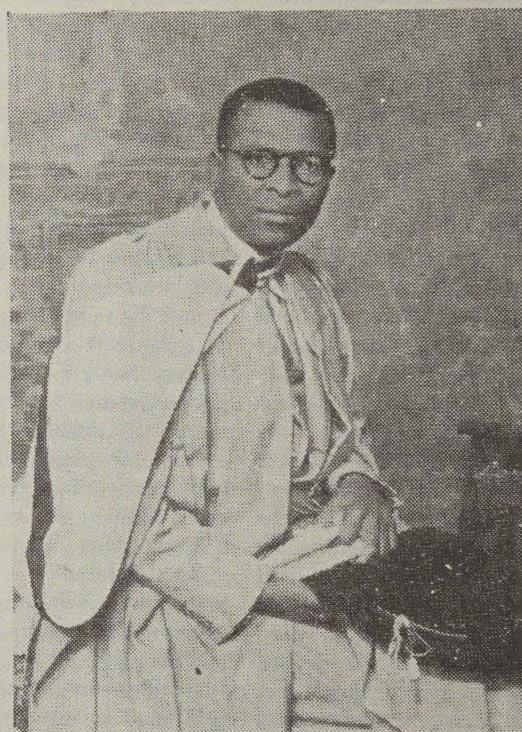
past tense forms, where we find the perfect, (indicating present state or very recent past), immediate and remote pasts, and the permanent denoting a state or past act whose effect is regarded as permanent. The stem of the perfect is derived by a process of vowel harmony, e.g. *-mona* (see), *-mono* (have seen), while the *-ile* suffix and its variants is reserved for the remote past tense. Besides the infinitive and imperative forms, however, only two moods are classified, the indicative and the subjunctive, while the range of negative tenses is very limited. Deficiencies in this system are supplied by use of deficient verbs with infinitive complements.

Copulative formation is particularly simple, substantives and qualificatives usually being used, without inflexion in plain impersonal predication. Of ideophones, there appears to be a great wealth. Indeed, the author suggests that most verb stems are traceable to ideophonic sources.

A number of Mr. Horton's statements are not unreservedly acceptable, e.g. his view in §340 that adverbs indicating "times" are formed by "prefixing the singular concords of class VII", *ka-*. Other languages which lack this noun class nevertheless employ a phonologically identical prefix for the same purpose, cf. Luvale *kangahi*, Zulu *kangaki*, Sotho *hakae* (how often?). In other cases, arrangement and method of treatment might be improved. Thus it would have been preferable to set out full tables of concords and pronouns in their appropriate places under qualificatives, etc., rather than to refer the reader back to the consolidated table in §134 in each case. Finally, not being told which is the language prefix or class in Luvale, we remain unenlightened as to what these people call their language.

Despite these minor criticisms, Mr. Horton is to be congratulated on providing us with a very good exposition of a little-known Bantu language with some very interesting and rather unusual features. It is a very valuable contribution to our limited knowledge of the languages of the West-central zone, and we look forward to seeing the Luvale Dictionary on which he is now engaged.

D. T. COLE.



DR. B. WALLET VILAKAZI, M.A., D. LITT.